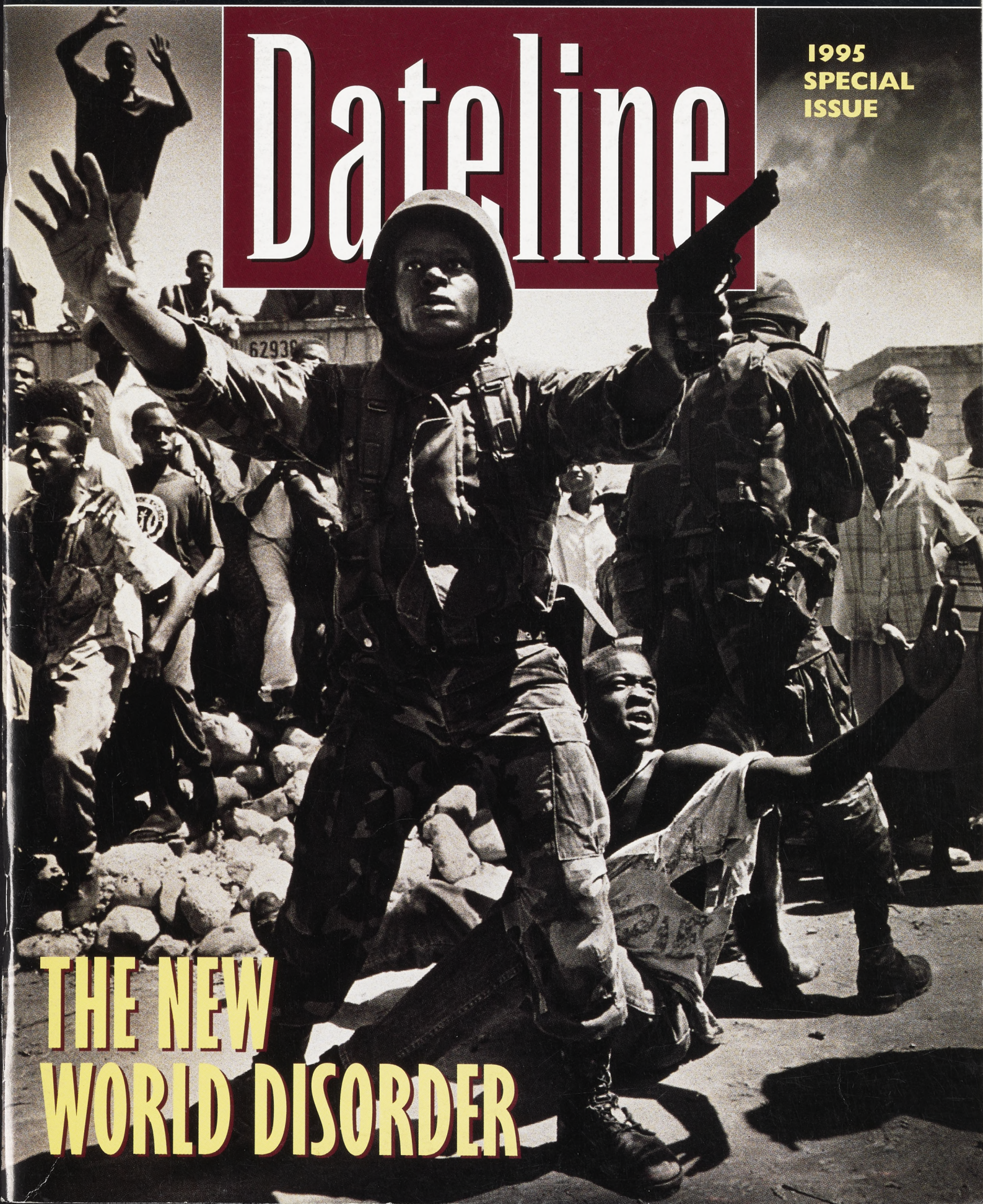


Inside: Winners of the Overseas Press Club Awards

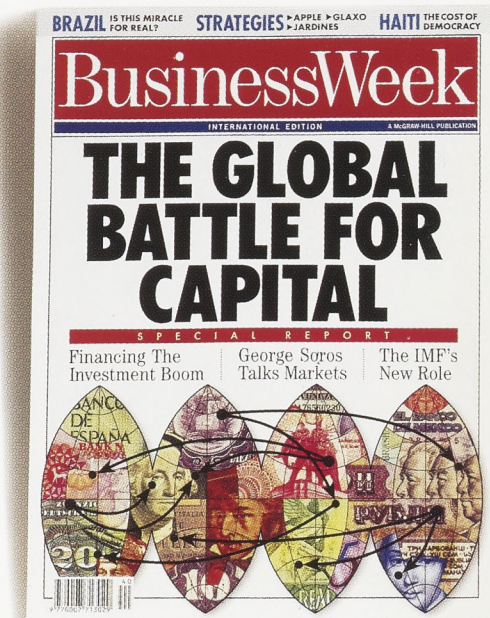
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1995  
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THE NEW  
WORLD DISORDER







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# Dateline

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#### **OPC DATELINE**

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#### **COVER**

In Haiti, American soldiers found themselves trapped in a combat zone in the role of peacekeepers

#### **THIS PAGE**

A Rwandan child draws filthy water in a Zairian refugee camp

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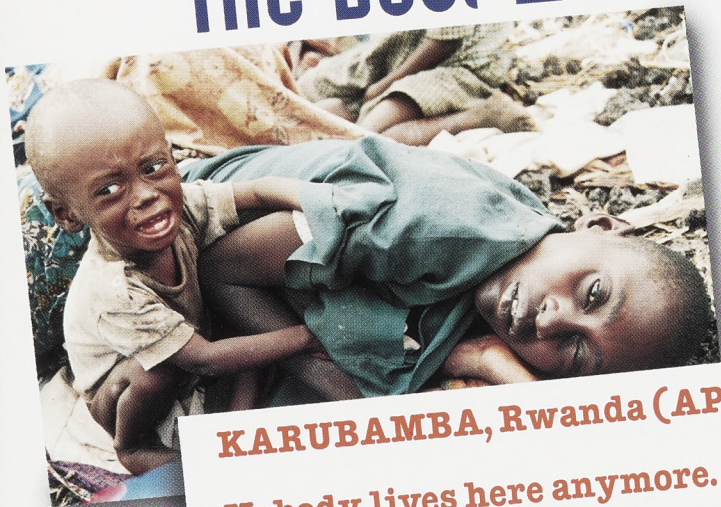
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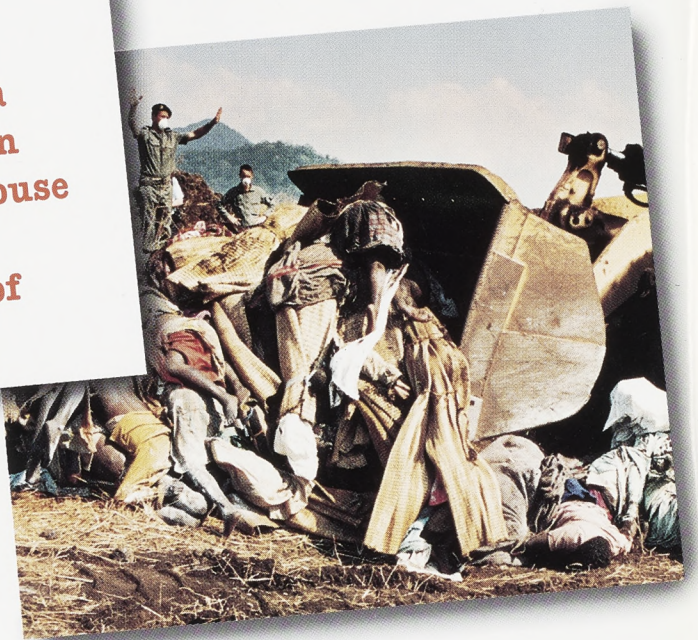
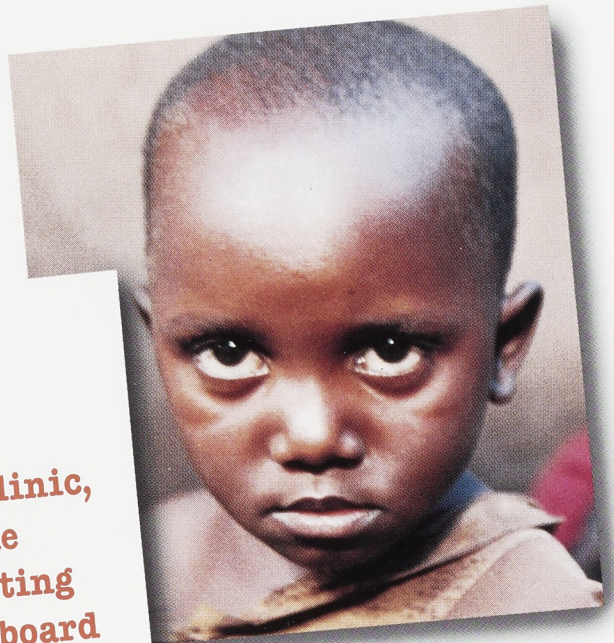
# The best writing speaks for itself.



**KARUBAMBA, Rwanda (AP) -**

Nobody lives here anymore.  
Not the expectant mothers  
huddled outside the maternity clinic,  
not the families squeezed into the  
church, not the man who lies rotting  
in a schoolroom beneath a chalkboard  
map of Africa.

Everybody here is dead.  
Karubamba is a vision from hell, a  
flesh-and-bone junkyard of human  
wreckage, an obscene slaughterhouse  
that has fallen silent save for  
the roaring buzz of flies the size of  
honeybees.



By Mark Fritz, Associated Press writer.  
1995 Winner of ASNE's Jesse Laventhol Award.  
Deadline News Reporting by an individual.

**AP** Associated Press



# Letter from the President

**Y**ou are holding a very special *Dateline* in your hands. Entitled "The New World Disorder," this annual publication of the Overseas Press Club contains some of the profession's finest writing and photography from Bosnia, Chechnya, Rwanda, Haiti, and other troubled lands. Produced by a top-notch team in New York, the magazine also boasts the results of an outstanding awards program that attracted a record 474 entries from America's major news organizations. The quality of the winners (page 35) is testimony to that success.

Thanks are in order. First to the many world-class writers and photographers who made their work available to us. Thanks also to BUSINESS WEEK for allowing Jay Petrow, Richard Balestrino, Michael Hirsch, and Michael Mercurio to produce this magazine as well as to PARADE's Jane Ciabattari who played the role of senior editor.

Much gratitude is due CNN's Allan Dodds

*The 1994  
awards  
program  
attracted a  
record 474  
entries*

Frank and TIME's Michael Serrill for countless hours spent managing an awards program that exceeded all expectations. The judges are to be warmly congratulated, and we pay homage to the sponsors (page 47). These awards will shape the careers of winning correspondents while recognizing the organizations that support them.

On a more sobering note, I am sad to report that two past presidents of the OPC have passed away in recent months. We lost both H.L. Stevenson, former editor-in-chief of

United Press International, and Victor Riesel, who was blinded in a 1956 acid attack because of his aggressive labor reporting. Both were giants of American journalism. We mourn their passing.

But we console ourselves with the knowledge that they would be proud to see this magazine and to witness the OPC's steady revitalization. For that turnaround, much appreciation goes to Club Manager Sonya Fry and a fine Board of Governors, listed below.

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# A History of the OPC

One evening in March, 1939, at about the time Hitler was seizing Czechoslovakia, Charles Ferlin invited fellow correspondents Samuel Dashiell and Hal Lehrman to Rocky's Bar in New York's Greenwich Village. Ferlin, who had worked for the Associated Press, United Press, and the *Paris Herald*, missed his beloved Harry's New York Bar in Paris and wanted to create a similar watering hole for correspondents in New York.

At a second, presumably more sober, meeting in April, nine journalists sat down at the famed Round Table in the Algonquin Hotel and formally created the Overseas Press Club. The club established its headquarters at the Gladstone Hotel. When war broke out, reporters forced to come home found their way to the OPC luncheon table. Lowell Thomas, the famous author

*Founded as  
a social  
gathering  
place, the club  
soon became  
much more*



and radio commentator, was president for a term during the war.

Although conceived as a social gathering place, the OPC quickly became much more. The club fought for press freedom around the world, became a forum at which world leaders spoke, and created awards for foreign reporting and photography. Edward R. Murrow, an active member and fund-raiser, would emerge as a seven-time OPC award winner.

The club reached its peak after the Korean War. During the '50s, membership exceeded 3,000. Its dinners and luncheons boasted kings, princes, and prime ministers as speakers. Fidel Castro even showed up once in combat boots and fatigues before he seized power in 1959.

In 1957, *Dateline* was launched, and President Dwight Eisenhower penned a welcome

message applauding club members for their coverage of world affairs. "I can conceive of no other kind of information that, in these troubled times, is more important to the American citizen," Ike wrote.

Aside from its noble works, the club has helped preserve the profession's rich lore. Hal Boyle, a much-decorated AP war correspondent, for example, was known as the most gregarious of members, angering his wife who waited impatiently for him at home. She stopped paying his bar tab, leading the club to post his name as a "deadbeat" on the bulletin board. "I don't mind," he observed dryly. "It's the only real recognition the club ever gave me."

But disaster struck in 1969 when an OPC manager embezzled \$100,000 in club funds, forcing the sale of its 11-story landmark building at 54 West 40th. That started a long period of erosion, complete with infighting, lawsuits, fiscal crises, and constant relocations. Membership plunged. Presidents such as Anita Diamant, Herbert Kupferberg, and Leonard Saffir kept the club going through its darkest days.

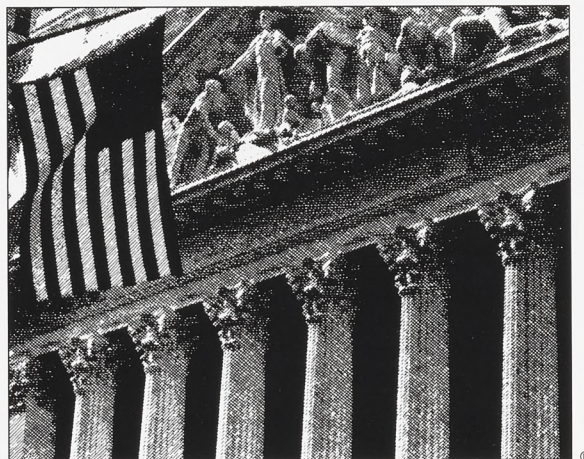
It was the late H.L. Stevenson, former editor-in-chief of United Press International, who began the key turnaround effort around 1990, attracting younger, active journalists onto the board and setting the stage for Larry Smith, managing editor of *Parade*, to become president.

Today, membership stands at about 600 in New York, throughout the U.S., and in at least 22 countries from Singapore to Switzerland. Television and online communications have completely changed the industry, and post-cold-war complexity makes Eisenhower's description of the mid '50s as "troubled" seem positively quaint. While social changes have rendered the old concept of a watering hole less important, the maintenance of a network of people dedicated to preserving the highest standards of international news coverage remains paramount.

As a result, the monthly *Bulletin* and a series of reciprocal relations and privileges (page 8) have emerged as more important than before. The OPC Foundation grants four scholarships a year to young journalists and will add another in memory of Stevenson. Awards are now given in 18 classes, and the Freedom of the Press Committee still does battle around the world. So despite enormous trials and tribulations since 1939, the OPC remains committed to defending and promoting the profession of covering the world.

**KOREAN COPY:  
THE OPC'S PEAK  
CAME IN THE  
MID-'50s, BUT  
IT'S REBOUNDED**





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071 583 7255  
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## CAMBODIA

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855 23 27757  
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Discount on business center facilities and  
secretarial services, Reuters On-Line News

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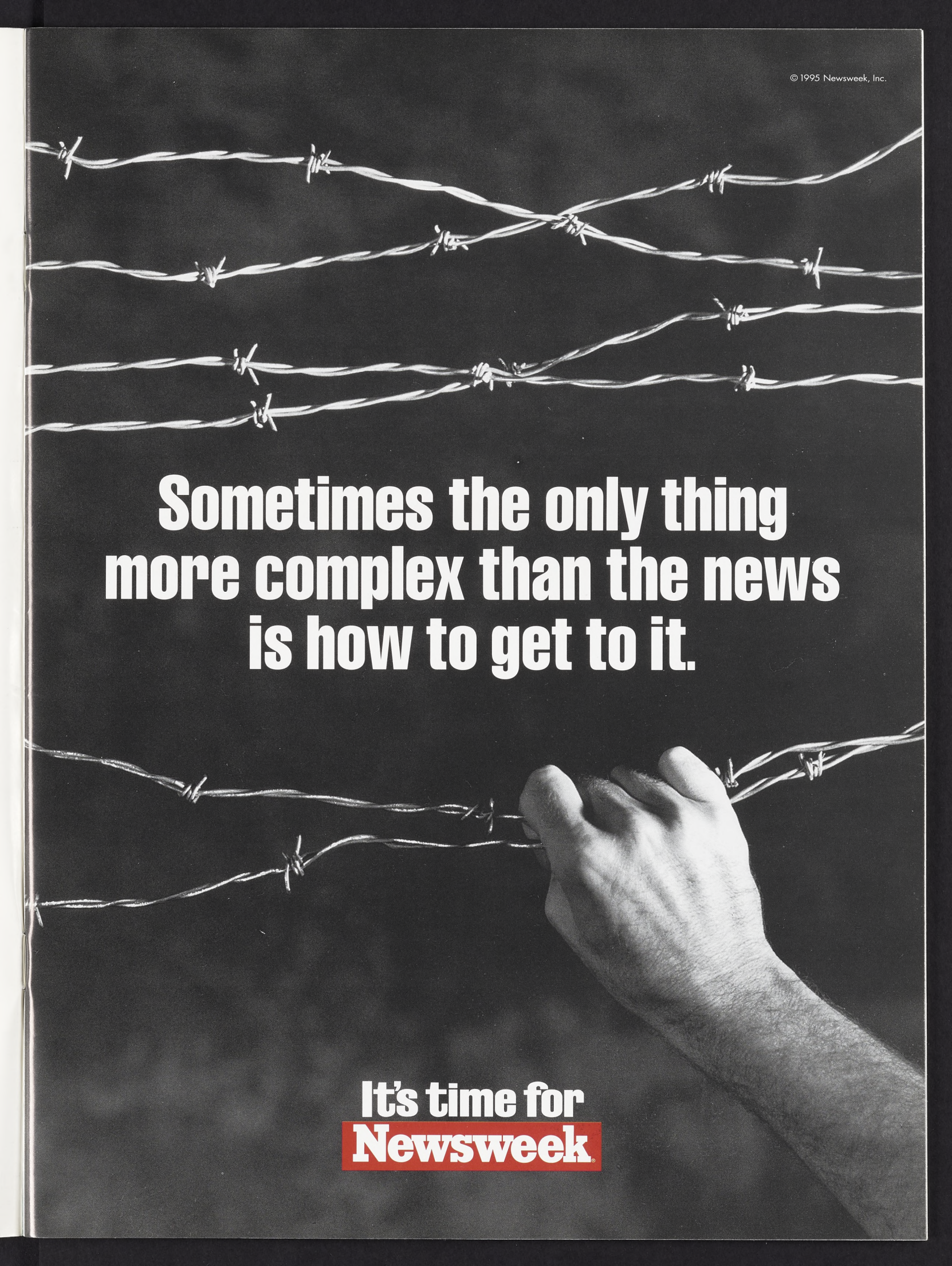
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**Sometimes the only thing  
more complex than the news  
is how to get to it.**

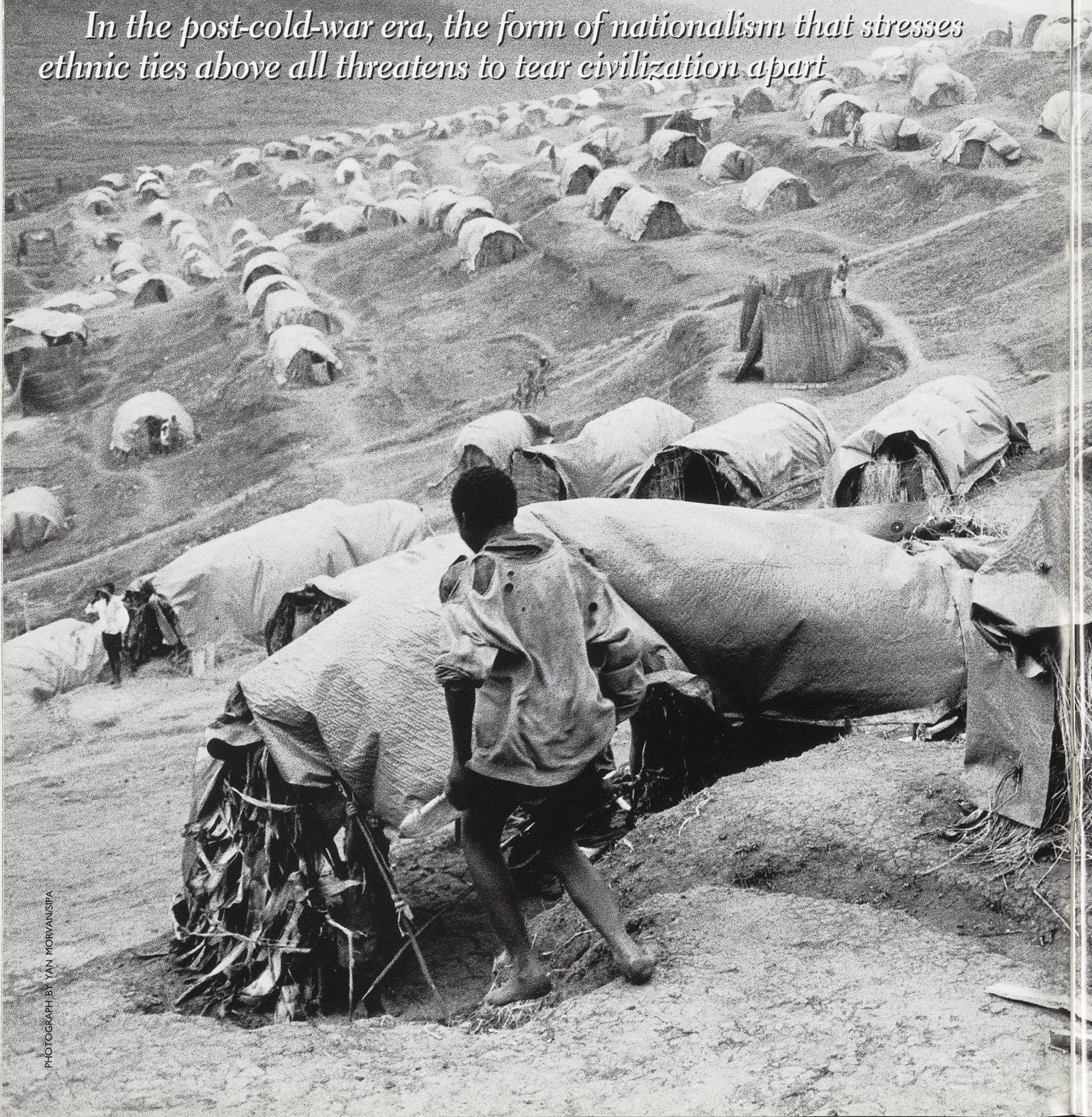
**It's time for  
Newsweek.**



Dateline

# The New World

*In the post-cold-war era, the form of nationalism that stresses ethnic ties above all threatens to tear civilization apart*



PHOTOGRAPH BY YAN MORVANISPA



# Disorder



## No Refuge

RWANDANS  
WHO FLED FROM  
THE KILLING  
FIELDS OF HOME  
FIND ONLY A  
SLOWER DEATH  
IN BURUNDI



By Michael Ignatieff

The U.N. checkpoint was a sandbagged Portakabin manned by two Canadian soldiers guarding a roadblock between the Croat- and Serb-held sections of Pakrac, in central Croatia. The road to the checkpoint wound between pulverized bungalows, upended cars in ditches, waist-high grass in abandoned gardens. Just visible in the grass, as we approached the checkpoint, were two teenage Croatian spotters with their binoculars trained on the Serbian side.

The U.N. had just waved us through into Serb-held territory when 15 armed Serbian paramilitaries surrounded our van. They had been drinking at a wedding in their village. The drunkest one, with dead eyes and glassy, sweat-beaded skin, forced the van door open and clambered in. "We watching you," he said, making binocular gestures with his hands. "You talk to Ustashe," and he pointed back at the Croats hiding in the grass. Then he took the pistol out of his belt. "You spies," he said. He ordered the driver out at gunpoint and took the wheel.

The Serb put the van into gear, and it was moving off when one of the U.N. soldiers yanked open the door, grabbed the keys, and shut off the ignition. "We'll do this my way," the U.N. soldier said, breathing heavily, half pulling, half cajoling the Serb out of the driver's seat. Another young Serb in combat gear pushed his way into the van and shook his head. "I am police. You are under arrest. Follow me."

At this moment, in my journeys in

## Too Few Helping Hands

U.N. TROOPS DO WHAT LITTLE THEY CAN FOR A WOUNDED SARAJEVAN







search of the new nationalism, I began to understand what the New World Order really means: paramilitaries, drunk on plum brandy and ethnic paranoia, trading shots with each other across a wasteland; a checkpoint between them, placed there by something loftily called "the international community," but actually manned by two anxious adolescents.

With all the excitement that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall, we assumed that the world was moving irrevocably beyond nationalism, beyond tribalism, beyond the provincial confines of the identities inscribed in our passports, toward a global market culture. In retrospect, we were whistling in the dark. The repressed has returned, and its name is nationalism.

All forms of nationalism vest political sovereignty in "the people"—indeed, the word "nation" is often a synonym for "the people"—but not all nationalist movements create democratic regimes, because not all nationalisms include all of the people in their definition of who constitutes the nation.

One type, civic nationalism, maintains that the nation should be composed of all those—regardless of race, color, creed, gender, language, or ethnicity—who subscribe to the nation's political creed. This nationalism is necessarily democratic, since it vests sovereignty in all of the people. Some elements of this ideal were first achieved in Great Britain. But it was

## Falling Down

EVEN IF THESE CRUMBLING WALLS ARE REBUILT, CHANCES ARE THAT THIS BOSNIAN MUSLIM'S LIFE NEVER WILL BE

## Blood Ties

CHECHEN MILITAMEN RALLY AS THEY AWAIT THE RUSSIAN ENEMY. IF VIOLENCE IS TO BE LEGITIMATED AMONG A PEOPLE, WHAT BETTER REASON THAN THEIR LOVE OF HOME?



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL LOWE/MAGNUM





keeping one's enemies in their place, or for overturning some legacy of cultural subordination. In the nations of Eastern Europe, ethnic nationalism offers something more. For when the Soviet empire and its satellite regimes collapsed, the nation-state structures of the region also collapsed, leaving hundreds of ethnic groups at the mercy of each other. Since none of these groups had the slightest experience of conciliating their disagreements by democratic discussion,

## Genocidal Warfare

WHO CAN TELL NOW WHICH OF THESE VICTIMS OF RWANDAN TERROR ARE HUTU OR TUTSI?

not until the French and American revolutions, and the creation of the French and American republics, that civic nationalism set out to conquer the world. According to the civic nationalist creed, what holds a society together is not common roots but law. By subscribing to a set of democratic procedures and values, individuals can reconcile their right to shape their own lives with their need to belong to a community.

Ethnic nationalism claims instead that an individual's deepest attachments are inherited, not chosen. It is the national community that defines the individual, not the individuals who define the national community.

This is one reason why ethnic nationalist regimes are more authoritarian than democratic. They are a form of democracy conducted in the interests of the ethnic majority. Most of the new post-cold-war nation-states give lip service to the idea of a society of civic equals and provide safeguards for minority rights. In reality, new nations like Serbia and Croatia, the Baltic states, and the new Asian republics have institutionalized ethnic majority domination. Ethnic nationalism is a particular temptation for those ethnic majorities—like the peoples of the Baltic republics and the Ukrainians—formerly ruled by the imperially backed Russian minority.

In all these places, the fundamental appeal of ethnic nationalism is as a rationale for ethnic majority rule, for

## Orphans in the Shadows

YOUNG CHILDREN ALREADY KNOW TOO WELL WHAT TRIBE THEY'RE FROM—AND WHAT TRIBE TO HATE



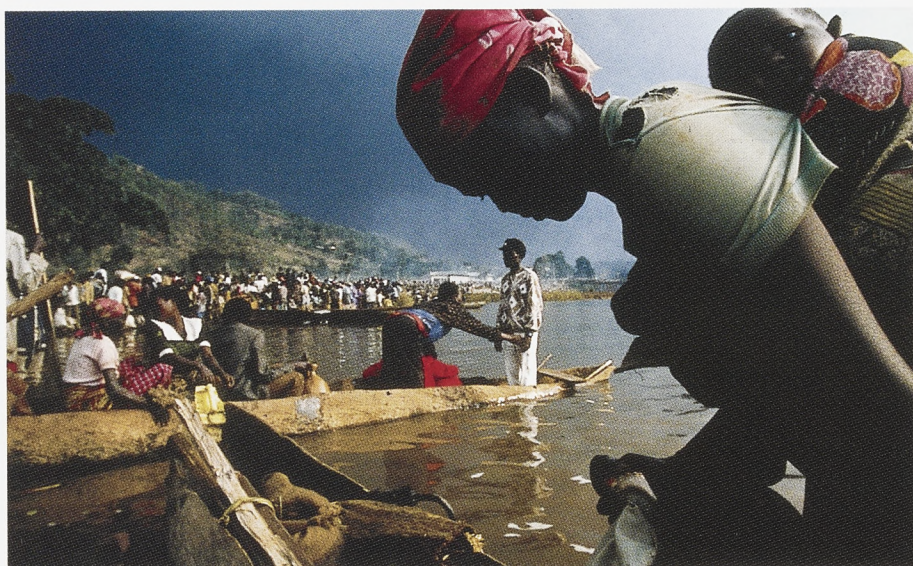


violence or force became their arbiter.

Nationalist rhetoric raced like wildfire through these regions because it provided warlords and gunmen with a vocabulary of opportunistic self-justification. In the fear and panic that swept the ruins of the Communist states, people began to ask: So who will protect me now? Faced with political and economic chaos, people wanted to know whom to trust. Ethnic nationalism provided an answer that was intuitively obvious:

## Unholy Waters

RWANDANS FLEE ACROSS LAKE KIVU INTO ZAIRE, YET ANOTHER LAND WHERE TRIBALISM IS ON THE RISE



Trust only those of your own blood.

If nationalism legitimizes an appeal to blood loyalty and, in turn, blood sacrifice, it can do so persuasively only if it seems to appeal to people's better natures, and not just to their worst instincts. Since killing is not a business to be taken lightly, it must be done for a reason that makes its perpetrator think well of himself. If violence is to be legitimated, it must be in the name of all that is best in a people, and what is better than their love of home?

Nationalists are supremely sentimental. Kitsch is the natural aesthetic of an ethnic "cleanser." There is no killer on either side of the checkpoints who will not pause, between firing at his enemies, to sing a nostalgic song or even recite a few lines of some ethnic epic. The latent purpose of such sentimentality is to imply that one is in the grip of a love greater than reason, stronger than the will, a love akin to fate and destiny. Such a love assists the believer that it is fate, however tragic, that obliges you to kill.

Anyone whose father was born in Russia, whose mother was born in England, whose education was in America, and whose working life has been spent in Canada, Great Britain, and France cannot be expected to be much of an ethnic nationalist. If anyone has a claim to being a cosmopolitan, it must be me.

For many years, I believed the tide was running in favor of cosmopolitans. There seemed to be so many of us in gigantic, multi-ethnic melting pots that provide a home for expatriates, exiles, migrants, and transients of all kinds. For the urban professional populations of these major cities, a post-national state





## Black Market in Death

CHECHEN ENTREPRENEURS PEDDLE  
HAND GRENADES FOR \$8 APIECE ON  
THE STREETS OF GROZNY

of mind was simply taken for granted.

What has happened in Bosnia and elsewhere must give pause to the believers in the virtues of cosmopolitanism. It is only too apparent that cosmopolitanism is the privilege of those who can take a secure nation-state for granted. We may have passed into a post-imperial age, but not into a post-nationalist age, and I cannot see how we will. The cosmopolitan order of the great cities—London, Los Angeles, New York, Paris—depends critically on the rule-enforcing capabilities of the nation-state.

When this order breaks down, as it did during the Los Angeles riots of 1992, it becomes apparent that even civilized, cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic cities have as great a propensity for ethnic war-

## In Harm's Way

NO HOLE IS DEEP ENOUGH TO HIDE  
FROM THE ADVANCING RUSSIANS



fare as any Eastern European country.

In this sense, therefore, cosmopolitans like myself are not beyond the nation, and a cosmopolitan, post-nationalistic spirit will always depend, in the end, on the capacity of nation-states to provide security and civility for their citizens. In that sense alone, I am a civic nationalist, someone who believes in the neces-

sity of nations and the duty of citizens to provide the security and rights we all need to live cosmopolitan lives.

*Adapted from Blood and Belonging, winner of the OPC's Cornelius Ryan Award for best book on foreign affairs. Copyright 1993 Michael Ignatieff. Reprinted by permission of Farrar, Strauss & Giroux Inc.*





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# The Time of

# SAVAGE WARS

*Today's terror is shameless, and we should not neglect the lesson this contains for us*

By André Glucksmann

Where was the front of freedom this past year? Experts have told us that in Algiers, slitting throats with knives was somehow specific to Islamic fundamentalism, and we could rest assured it would stay within the bounds of Algeria. Officially, 400 people a month are being killed in the violence between the Islamic fascists and the military Stalinists who inherited the Front de Liberation Nationale's kleptocratic state. Any Algerian will tell you the reality is that 1,000 people are being killed per week, if not more. The soldiers napalm villages and destroy forests, while the fundamentalists throw bombs at schools, rape schoolgirls, and take knives to people's throats.

And they told us that in Kigali, there was something specifically Rwandan about the genocide that befell the Tutsis: something peculiarly Hutu about killing half a million people—men, women, and children—with machetes.

This could happen only in Rwanda, a small country in central Africa said to have beautiful hills.

And, our wise experts told us, the madness in what used to be called Yugoslavia can be explained by an ethnic ferocity specific to this region. "These people have a taste for death," says the Olympian French President François Mitterrand.

But what we are witnessing—often on the evening news—is a new form of warfare marked by a savagery that does not even pretend to have a purpose higher



**RWANDAN MOB JUSTICE: VIOLENCE WITH NO HIGHER PURPOSE**

than killing neighbors defined as intruders.

In three years of merely "ethnic" wars, Bosnia has bled no less than France during the Great War: 1 in 20 dead. Note, also, that one out of every two Bosnians now enjoys the dubious status of refugee, either within the land of the southern Slavs or in Germany. We are somewhat beyond the acceptable scale of brutality for what the experts tell us is a local conflict.

As to the peculiarly quaint Rwandans with the quaint machetes, what they seem to have done is to beat the world record for genocide (at least in terms of speed), a record that, believe it or not, can be surpassed somewhere else.





**BURNED ALIVE:  
ONE OF THE  
RUSSIANS WHO  
DIDN'T SURVIVE  
CHECHNYA**

One thing we ought to learn from the fronts where freedom this year crumbled: Today's terror is shameless, and we should not neglect the lesson this contains for us.

While Hitler and Stalin are the century's greatest criminals, it is nonetheless interesting to note that they made an effort to hide at least some of their crimes. But today, *fatwas* (Islamic death orders) are openly proclaimed against writers, and killers in Kigali and Algiers are told to go after "intellectuals." The library at Sarajevo is deliberately burned down, as are its mosques and its churches.

Sarajevo, Kigali, Algiers: The historical backgrounds vary widely, as do the ideological references.

But see the similarities in strategies.

The combatants preach war (holy or ethnic), revolution (national or religious), community (fundamental or xenophobic). Whatever their weapons, the tactical goal is purge and extermination. Their ultimate rationale is the embrace of death. Kill the undesired neighbor, but kill also the human in oneself. It does not come naturally to a human being to cut his neighbor's baby with a machete. Nor is it easy to rape for political reasons.

**K**illers used to put distance between themselves and their victims. Kolytina is far from Moscow; zykron-B gas makes the executioner feel like an industrial worker rather than a murderer. Times have changed. From

the shame of night and fog we are in the full light of day. Collective murder is public, published. Credit is claimed, examples offered. Homicide and suicide blend into daytime orgies of torture. Reliable estimates from Rwanda suggest that up to 50% of the Hutu killers were HIV-positive, and knew it. Perhaps they did not want to die alone. Or perhaps they felt robbed of life, cheated by the satanic West, the neighbor who makes a useful scapegoat. We are, by the evidence, entering a time of savage wars. The front is widening.

*Glucksman is with the National Center for Scientific Research in Paris. This article was adapted with permission from Politique Internationale, Winter 1994*



# Bosnia: Mortal Conflict

*Lodged like a worm, the war gnaws at the foundations of any new security arrangement for the Continent*

By Roger Cohen

It was one of those Belgrade restaurants frequented by a mix of artful smugglers who have made big money out of Yugoslavia's collapse and weary Western diplomats trying to find a pattern in the hall of mirrors that is Serbian politics. The slabs of meat were enormous, the atmosphere raucous. "You could argue that we haven't failed," the American diplomat ventured, "because we have contained the conflict in Bosnia."

There was some evident truth to the remark. We were eating, if not like kings, then at least like Serbian war tycoons. But the comment was troubling. Containment is a key word in post-war American foreign policy. It describes the coherent effort, pursued unilaterally and through alliances, to halt the advance of communism. Contained, unable to propagate, the Soviet system ultimately collapsed under the weight of its own monstrous inertia.

Containment, as applied in Bosnia, has been much less successful. True, the Balkans are not aflame, at least not yet. But, almost three years after its recognition by the U.N., Bosnia lies in ruins, dismembered and almost certainly beyond repair. Close to 3 million people have lost their homes, and more than 100,000 people are dead. Those still alive exist in a hopeless U.N.-patrolled limbo. The war goes on, liable to spread to Croatia, with no hint of a resolution in sight.

The costs of this debacle have scarcely begun to be counted. The war is there, in the soul of Europe, lodged like a worm. It gnaws at the foundations of any new security arrangement for the Continent. The credibility of the U.N. and of NATO, whose endless resolutions and warnings have proved essentially empty, has been devastated. Moderate Islam has been betrayed, and so, inevitably, its more radical and menacing manifestations will grow.

Above all, I believe, we have acquiesced to an inhumanity not seen in Europe for 50 years and so, implicitly, acquiesced to the notion that such bestial horror may repeat itself in some new explosion of violent nationalism.

Amra, a Bosnian Muslim friend of mine in Sarajevo, is lucky. Her family is alive. That is good fortune indeed in Bosnia. There is not much left of her life, however. A successful economist in a trading company before the war, she now does menial work in an encircled city and, occasionally, takes home a fro-

**FATE AWAITS:  
SURVIVORS  
EXIST IN A  
HOPELESS LIMBO**





# in the Soul of Europe



PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER TURNLEY/BLACK STAR



zen chicken for pay. The other day, her three-year-old son, who knows only war, was watching television footage of the Kobe earthquake. "Mum," he asked, shocked by the destruction. "Did the Serbs do that?"

Could we have done better for this kid, born into a professional European family at a moment when the end of the Continent's division between opposing ideological blocs had suggested a time of healing and growth? For all the official talk of quagmires, ancient Balkan feuds, fiendish terrain, and the body-bag factor, the answer is: Of course we could. The question is: What went wrong?

Part of the answer is that Yugoslavia chose a bad time to fall apart. Curious and, as later transpired, vacuous notions like a New World Order and "the end of history" were floating around. If Europe wanted to handle the Balkan problem, that was just fine in Washington.

Unfortunately, the result was a vacuum that persists today. The European Union, with nothing more than an inchoate army, still depends on American leadership. Throughout the Yugoslav crisis, under President Bush and President Clinton, that leadership has been absent. Diplomatic initiatives on the conflict—increasingly convoluted, increasingly forlorn—have thus resembled attempts to play baseball without a bat.

Never more so than when James A. Baker flew into Belgrade for a lightning visit in June, 1991, and admonished the likes of Serbian President Slobian Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman with the message that the U.S. was opposed to the dissolution of Yugoslavia—but also opposed the use of force to hold it together.

That sort of talk does not get you very far in the Balkans. It is a much-conquered area more respectful of statements such as one made by Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic: "Borders are drawn in blood." Within days of the Baker visit, Slovenia and

Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia, and the fighting for bloody new borders began.

America had good reasons for uncertainty and ambivalence. For one, two supposedly fundamental principles in U.S. foreign policy were clashing—the sanctity of international borders and peoples' right to self-determination. But beyond such enduring dilemmas, there was negligence.

This negligence, I believe, was rooted in a gross underestimation of the explosive historical forces lurking beneath the

The Serbs felt betrayed by Yugoslavia's collapse, which marooned many of their people in countries that they saw as hostile. Yugoslavia, for Serbs, was their creation, a state born of enormous Serbian sacrifice in World War I. Their argument for fighting has been simple: The Serbs of Croatia (13% of the population) and Bosnia (32%) never wanted to leave Yugoslavia. It is superficially compelling.

However, this view ignores the central role played by Serbian President Milosevic in destroying Yugoslavia. His cynical



**DIGNITY ON THE RUN: 3 MILLION BOSNIANS HAVE LOST THEIR HOMES**

unity communism imposed on Yugoslavia. In reality, the Iron Curtain was a superficial and short-lived European division. A much deeper fault line lies, as it has since the Roman Empire, through Yugoslavia.

Here, the old clash of the Eastern and Western churches has been complicated, and often envenomed, by the deep penetration of the Ottoman Empire and Islam into Europe. With the Iron Curtain gone, history was reborn. It is only natural that this perennial center of shifting frontiers and conflicts—the source of World War I—should be rekindled.

Great international attention was therefore needed. Instead, the Europeans dithered and blustered, culminating with Germany's extraordinary and unhelpful decision to accord unilateral recognition to Croatia and Slovenia in December, 1991. Given the lamentable passivity of American diplomacy, the die was cast.

exploitation of the power of nationalist rhetoric over economically depressed and politically oppressed people goaded the Serbs into a moment of mass psychosis. In my view, the evidence is convincing that, at least in Bosnia, the Serbs—far from being obliged to fight by Bosnia's declaration of independence—actively and carefully premeditated the war.

Certainly, the elaborate network of Serbian concentration camps for Bosnian Muslim civilians that began operating shortly after the war began bears the hallmark of central planning. Of the more than three quarters of a million Muslims forced from their homes in Bosnian land now held by Serbs, many were processed through these camps. I have now heard enough consistent stories of torture, humiliation, and mass execution from disparate Muslims in different areas of Bosnia to understand this barbaric system. Herded like animals into converted sports centers, warehouses, barracks, and the like, Muslim men, women, and chil-



dren were systematically terrorized. Ears sliced off. Fingers severed. Castration. Repeated sexual humiliation and abuse. Daily beatings. Random killings.

It is here, in my view, that the U.S. had to draw a line in the "gline"—the oozing mud so characteristic of Bosnia.

At certain critical moments, the values of the U.S. and of Western Europe must be defended: A system of concentration camps in Europe constitutes one such moment. Rather than looking the other way, the U.S. could have gained the necessary support of the American people for military intervention and the backing of a coalition of like-minded nations by displaying, again and again, the evidence of the singular barbarity of genocidal Serbian camps.

In a recent conversation, then Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger told me: "I don't recall trying to look the other way. But the fact is there was nothing I could conceive of, in the realm of the possible, that would lead the President to put our troops there. The President's view and the chiefs' was that military intervention was the worst

## A YOUNG BOSNIAN MUSLIM BOY SEES TV COVERAGE OF THE KOBE EARTHQUAKE AND ASKS: "MUM, DID THE SERBS DO THAT?"

possible thing to do and would involve substantial losses on our part with little public support. I doubt that even full knowledge of the camps—which we did not have then—would have made any difference. The costs of correcting this moral disaster were greater than we were prepared to pay."

**B**ut the costs of having done nothing continue to be paid, and the full accounting will take many years to be known. President Clinton spoke of "genocide" when he was a Democratic candidate, but once installed in the White House, he began fudging. Even the morally unjustifiable arms embargo on Bosnia remains in place.

Time and again, over Bosnia, we have had the sad spectacle of top American

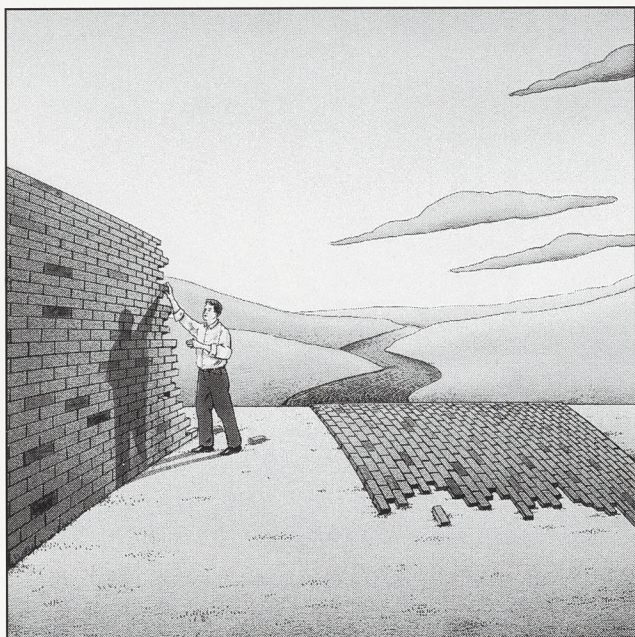
officials mouthing velleities and eschewing what only the U.S. can do: lead and build coalitions of interest. Multilateralism is a vogue word in foreign policy. But if it is to mean anything except confusion, it must be anchored in America's unique ability to provide leadership.

In the Clinton Administration's most serious attempt to define an overall foreign doctrine to replace "containment," National Security Adviser Tony Lake in 1993 called for "the enlargement of the world's free community of market democracies."

But market democracies—that is civil societies—are in the end based on certain fundamental values of which racist savagery is the antithesis. In the Balkans, the West's commitment to the enlargement of "the world's free community" has been terribly compromised. Far from being contained, the Bosnian disease is now likely to spread.

*Cohen, of The New York Times, is a 1994 co-winner of the OPC's Eric and Amy Burger award for best human rights reporting in any medium*

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*So far, there has been no honest national debate about how to balance out American interests vs. American values*

By Doyle McManus

**S**omehow, being the world's only superpower ought to be more fun. The Cold War has been over for six years. No longer do Soviet missiles threaten our homes, and no new enemy menaces our shores. In the Middle East and southern Africa, peace has a solid foothold in regions that were battlefields for decades. Even the American economy, whose inexorable decline was once forecast, is rolling up quarter after quarter of low-inflation growth.

And yet Americans and their leaders find little satisfaction in their preeminent power. American troops go into action in Somalia, Bosnia, Haiti, and Iraq, and stand ready in South Korea, Macedonia, and soon, perhaps, the Golan Heights. But they, and we, are no longer sure why. When the U.S. warns Somali warlords, Serb aggressors, or Russian commanders to stop, they disdainfully call our bluff. In Washington, our two political parties sourly debate over who is isolationist and who is too willing to cede the nation's sovereignty to faceless U.N. bureaucrats.

The Cold War, it turns out, wasn't merely our generation-long balance of terror. In the phrase of historian Ronald Steel, it was "our vocation," our touchstone of national purpose. Instead, today we have a long list of questions with no easy answers: What is America's role in a disordered world? How do we know what our real interests are? When do we have a responsibility to intervene? If we decide not to intervene, is that isolationism? Are we doing too little—or too much—to advance such American values as human rights and democracy?

"Suddenly, virtually overnight, we've had to change the way we think about the world and our role in it," says Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, a former *Time* correspondent. The main challenge, he says, is intellectual: "to find the right terms of reference" for



continued U.S. engagement in the world.

Two Presidents have tried to answer those questions and largely failed. George Bush fought the 1991 Persian Gulf war declaring that he sought a "New World Order," but his seeming indifference to domestic economic concerns left much of the public unsatisfied.

Bill Clinton launched a short-lived attempt at "assertive multilateralism" that came to a disastrous end in the streets of Mogadishu in 1993, when 18 U.S. Army Rangers died trying to capture a Somali warlord. Since then, Clinton has returned to a more cautious stance aimed mostly at avoiding disasters.



# AMERICA

## The Shackled Superpower



In fairness, the disorders of the post-cold-war world don't lend themselves to grand strategies or great crusades. But the question of America's role in the world will not wait. If nothing else, the capture of Congress by conservative Republicans and their desire to complete a GOP realignment by taking the White

House in 1996 have forced a new debate on the fundamental principles of American foreign policy.

The Clinton Administration, battling Republican budget-cutters who want to slash spending on both U.N. peacekeeping operations and U.S. foreign aid, has understandably sought to frame the de-

**HAITIAN PERCH: IS RESTORING A PRESIDENT AN AMERICAN GOAL?**

bate in its own terms. When Clinton gave his first major foreign policy speech this year, it was to warn against the danger that "ripples of isolationism" could turn into a "tidal wave."





shouldering the full burden of peace-making or a trap to draw Americans into costly quagmires?

For much of its time in office, the Clinton Administration has found itself bedeviled by internal division over these issues, embodied in the very different temperaments of National Security Adviser Anthony Lake and Secretary of State Warren Christopher. In shorthand, it is the age-old battle between idealism and pragmatism. Lake, an unabashed admirer of Woodrow Wilson, wants the U.S. to

**TROUBLE SPOTS: FROM AFGANISTAN TO ZAIRE, AMERICA'S INTERESTS VARY, BUT WE DON'T LIKE TO ADMIT IT**

address problems of human suffering and economic development in the poorest parts of the world. Christopher wants to focus on nuclear proliferation and resurgent Russian nationalism that could, if

There has always been a tendency toward isolationism in the country, but it is currently no greater than during earlier decades. A survey by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations released in March found that 65% of the public wants the U.S. to play an active part in world affairs, a slightly higher percentage than in the 1980s. And when reporters asked Clinton whom he counted as an isolationist, the President ducked the question—because few national figures, if any, merit the label. House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), the leader of the GOP's insurgent opposition, does not. Says Gingrich: "The United States must lead, period."

**O**n one level, Americans have already reached a virtually unnoticed consensus on several basic issues. Most national leaders, from Clinton to Gingrich, list the same fundamental goals as national interests: the defense of the U.S. and its allies from physical danger, including weapons of mass destruction and terrorism; the protection and expansion of an orderly free-trading system, with maximum access to foreign markets for American exports; the promotion, wherever possible, of American values like democracy and human rights.

There is little debate about foreign economic policy, for example, largely because Clinton's New Democrats largely agree with most Republicans that free-trade agreements are winning propositions. Except for the AFL-CIO and its allies, export-driven prosperity is a consensus issue.

But the two parties disagree—both



with each other and internally—on three closely linked issues:

First, how do we rank those competing interests? Which comes first: trade with China, or that country's human rights? Spending money on defense, or shrinking foreign aid?

Second, when should we use U.S. military force? Was George Bush right to send troops ashore in Somalia to help end a famine? Was Bill Clinton right to send troops to Haiti to reinstall a democratically elected President? Were they both right to keep troops out of Bosnia?

Third, how much authority should we entrust to the U.N. or to other multilateral organizations where the U.S. is only first among equals? Is multilateral action a smart way to relieve Americans of

mismanaged now, later pose a real security danger to the nation.

So whenever they list their foreign policy priorities, the President's two chief advisers tend to list them in opposite order and in dissimilar terms. Lake, a former college professor, says the central task of U.S. foreign policy is to extend the realm of democracy, a concept he briefly dubbed "enlargement." Christopher, a lawyer, says the makers of foreign policy must work on a case-by-case basis on issues that touch the national interest. That approach stresses interests, more than principles.

The division has been most striking when military intervention was on the table. In Bosnia, for example, Lake has long been a "hawk," insisting that the





# EXPERIENCE.

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U.S. had to find a way to fulfill its commitment to save the Bosnian Muslims. Christopher has been more cautious, wary of any step that might lead to deeper U.S. military involvement.

In the wake of his embarrassments in Somalia and Bosnia, Clinton has largely resolved that debate by siding with Christopher's more cautious view. The Administration now pursues a policy scarcely different from the positions Clinton condemned as heartless when George Bush held them in 1992. The President and his aides have deployed American diplomacy skillfully in several important areas: North Korea, the Middle East, and Northern Ireland. But no longer do they seek new opportunities for U.N. peacekeeping, with or without American troops. In the Clinton Administration's lexicon, the words "assertive multilateralism" no longer exist.

One reason is the relentless attack on U.N. peacekeeping from Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.), Senator Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), and other Republican Presidential candidates. Dole, like many Republicans, has deep distrust of the

U.N. and other international organizations. They far prefer the Desert Storm model, when Americans were clearly leading the charge.

There's one problem, however, that the politicians rarely raise, perhaps because they don't have a ready answer for it: Being a superpower just isn't what it used to be. Even though the U.S. is still the world's largest military power by far and has the world's largest economy by a considerable margin, those rankings don't change the overriding facts of the post-cold-war world.

**O**ne is the declining power of all nation-states. The global economy—which makes its own judgments on the worth of currencies, the competitive value of exports, and the soundness of fiscal policies—is beyond the control of any single government. Increasingly, it is even beyond the control of the world's major governments and central banks working together. As a result, a modern U.S. President simply has less running room in his economic and foreign policies than his pre-

decessors of just a generation ago.

The assertion that the U.S. is "the world's only superpower," invoked by politicians in both parties, seems vaguely patriotic, but it may do more harm than good. It suggests that the U.S. is capable of solving virtually any problem it chooses to address, including deep-seated ethnic and religious conflicts in countries with little affinity for the West: Not only Bosnia, Somalia, Haiti, and Iraq, but also Sudan, Myanmar, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Rwanda, Burundi, Algeria, Western Sahara, Sri Lanka, and East Timor.

But ethnic and religious conflicts are not susceptible to easy settlement by great powers, unless the great powers are willing to commit large numbers of troops to the task, often for an extended time. And when a superpower does intervene, it is rarely free to disengage without paying some high price. One theory that has survived intact since Vietnam is that a U.S. withdrawal from, say, Somalia, only encourages autocrats and aggressors elsewhere to treat the superpower as a pushover.

The key issue in U.S. foreign policy is

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not "isolationism" vs. "globalism" because we are all globalists now. Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich agree on little—but they agree that the U.S. should do something to stop today's ethnic wars in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Chechnya, and to avert future Bosnias as well. Most Americans agree that a major war in Europe, East Asia, or the Persian Gulf will touch U.S. interests sooner rather than later—whether by endangering American citizens abroad or endangering American jobs at home. And most Americans still think it's reasonable to use U.S. power to stop small wars—even in places where we have no direct interest, like Somalia—as long as the job can be done at low cost.

The problem, of course, is the "middle places" like Bosnia, where the threat to American interests is ambiguous and the cost in blood is likely to be high. Neither Clinton nor Gingrich has come up with a neat solution to that hard case, because there is no neat solution. The public is solidly opposed to military intervention in Bosnia. No major politician has made a straightforward case for

THE KEY ISSUE IN U.S.  
FOREIGN POLICY ISN'T  
"ISOLATION" VS.  
"GLOBALISM" BECAUSE WE  
ARE ALL GLOBALISTS TODAY

full-scale military intervention. Instead, President Clinton, Senator Dole, and others have proposed a series of half-measures, from diplomatic exertions to arming the Bosnians and (a perennial American military "solution") strategic bombing. None is likely to make Bosnia whole again.

**S**trobe Talbott was right. Our central problem, in Bosnia and elsewhere, is intellectual. We have not had an honest national debate about the limits of our interests and the limits of our power. So we muddle along, arguing as if every ethnic war and every atrocity were an offense against an American-ordained world order—but unwilling to pay the cost of setting things right. We

debate foreign policy as if every interest were roughly equal—but concede, in an unarticulated way, that some are more or less equal than others. The hard fact is that, in most Americans' eyes, the lives of Bosnians and Somalians and Chechens are not worth the lives of more than a very few of our sons and daughters. We do not much like to confront this truth, for we are still idealists at heart, and more than a little disappointed in ourselves.

The Clinton Administration wears its idealism on its sleeve—but after long and agonized debate, it has put realism in control. Until we can resolve this paradox and until we can talk frankly about the limits of our idealism without flinching, we will reach no consensus on how to use American power to stop the next Bosnia. And we will, consequently, likely fail at the task—just as we are failing now.

*McManus, a former correspondent reporting from Europe and the Middle East, now covers the White House for the Los Angeles Times.*

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By Bob Davis

**H**ere's a paradox of global proportions: The closer that trade and technology bind nations together, the bolder the moves to break nations apart:

— In Montreal, Rita Dionne-Marso-lais last year plotted global energy strategies by day as a Price Waterhouse consultant. By night, she plotted Quebec's independence. "We want to position ourselves in the world market," she says. "The rest of Canada is just another business partner." After separatists won local elections, Dionne-Marsolais was named Quebec's Minister of Tourism.

— In Brussels, the capital of economically unified Western Europe, Guy Ve-

economy, they say. This optimistic economic outlook "has strengthened the Tamils' argument to fight for independence," says Amita Shastri, a political-science professor at San Francisco State University.

Who would have expected all this? Following World War II, many predicted that a global economy and global communications would lead to a worldwide community. Nationalism, they said, would decline as ever more people saw us all as passengers on lifeboat Earth.

But the growth of the global economy and of more powerful transnational institutions is producing the opposite effect. Instead of fading away, nationalism is flourishing. Now, even tiny groups of people can contemplate

# Subdivisions in the...

*Even as surging world trade links countries together, many of those countries want to split up*

rhofstadt, a Flemish opposition leader, proposes turning over most of Belgium's social-security system to the nation's three regions—even it causes the country to break apart. "We'd be three independent regions in the European Union," he says.

— In cyberspace, Tamil activists use the Internet computer network to swap plans for an independent Tamil state in northern Sri Lanka. Building a free-trade zone around Trincomalee harbor would anchor the new country in the world

breaking away from the central state and plugging into the world economy on their own. Regions nursing ancient grievances are claiming independence, or at least autonomy, confident they aren't committing economic suicide. At the same time, the big corporations and institutions shaping the world economy seem so remote that many people turn to local ethnic groups and obscure languages for their identity, furthering the world's political fragmentation.

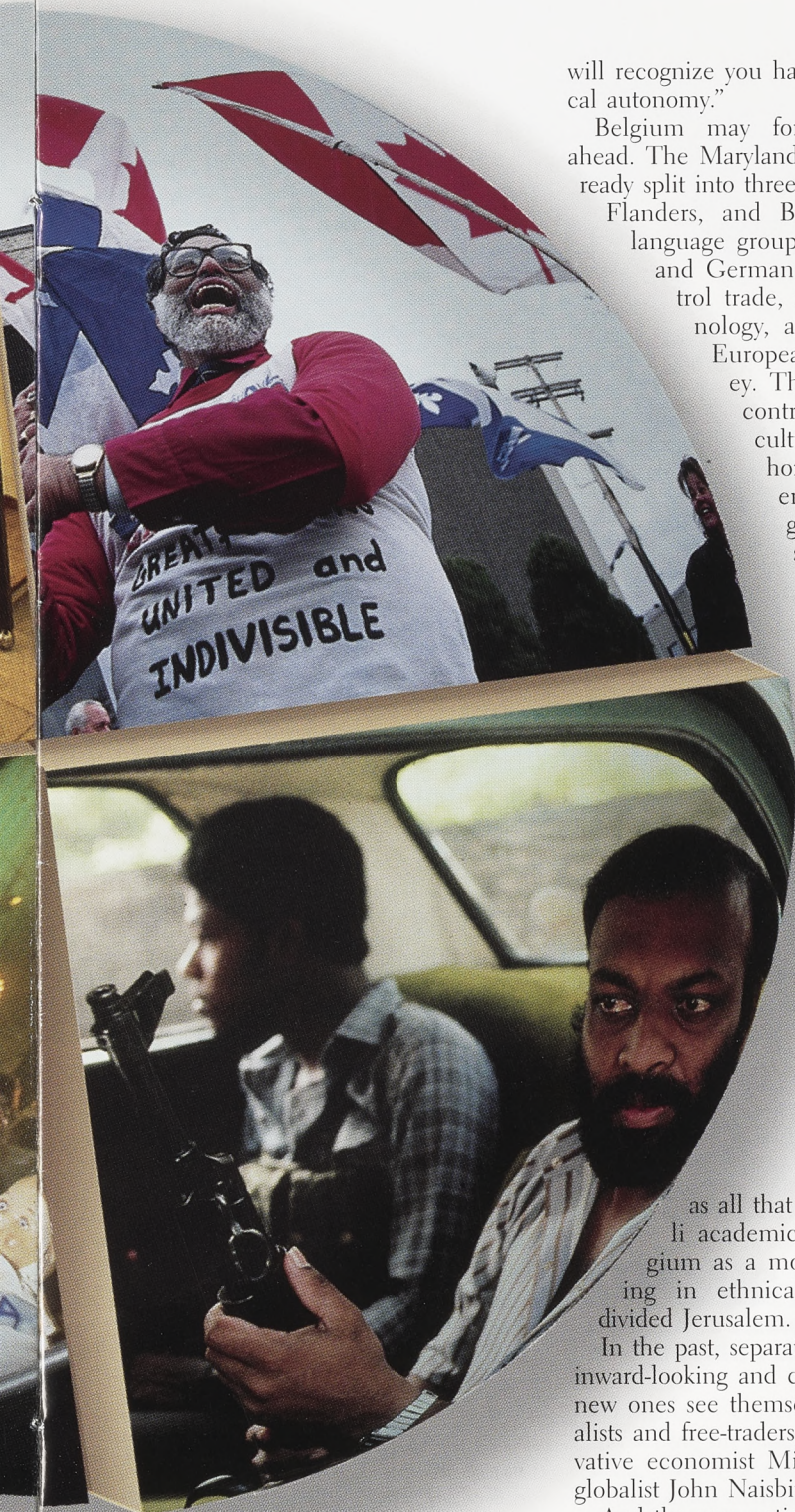
"This is a world we didn't expect to happen and we haven't planned for," says Paul Goble, a specialist in ethnic movements at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Over time, he believes, the world may fracture into 500 states from the current 200. Others put the ultimate number lower but talk of a new kind of state—something akin to a corporate holding company—with the central government little more than a shell and power residing in the regions.

The swirl of events is captured by CNN and other global media, which bounce images and ideas from region to region. Separatists in Quebec track events in the Baltics, and Baltic leaders watch Latin America. All see a world of increasingly open, interdependent economies—and a world no longer threatened by the huge military apparatus of the former Soviet Union. The conclusion: The world is now safe for separatism.

"There's a lot of incentive to make your own deal with the world economy,"







will recognize you have a right to political autonomy."

Belgium may foreshadow what is ahead. The Maryland-size nation has already split into three regions—Wallonia, Flanders, and Brussels—and three language groups—French, Dutch, and German. The regions control trade, industry, and technology, and they lobby the European Union for money. The language groups control education and culture. Brussels is now home to the EU's government, Belgium's government, Brussels' government, Flanders' government, and various language-group committees.

As complicated

zone between the nations. Afterward, a delegation from Argentina visited Estonia, which is selling off state-owned factories and farms.

In Spain, Catalonia's regional president, Jordi Pujol, is interested in Quebec separatism. Slovakia's former deputy prime minister, Brigita Schmognerova, met with leaders from Flanders and Wallonia when she visited Belgium. She believes Czechoslovakia's split shows that "if both sides agree to separation, it can be done without violence and without any especially negative effects."

But an outward orientation hardly protects against turmoil. Trade between China's southern coastal provinces and foreign nations is growing faster than in China's vast interior, widening regional disparities. In coastal Guangdong, government officials occasionally threaten poorer provinces with military action if they don't ship enough rice.

## ...Global Village

as all that sounds, some Israeli academics are studying Belgium as a model for power-sharing in ethnically and religiously divided Jerusalem.

In the past, separatist movements were inward-looking and chauvinistic. But the new ones see themselves as internationalists and free-traders, who count conservative economist Milton Friedman and globalist John Naisbitt as heroes.

And the new nations network at every opportunity. Early in 1994, in the Alpine splendor of Davos, Switzerland, the Prime Ministers of Estonia and the Czech Republic—two nations that didn't exist five years ago—huddled with Argentina's Finance Minister to discuss economic strategy.

Argentina had shucked protectionism and curbed inflation, and the new nations are doing the same. Last year, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus traveled to Argentina to propose a free-trade

More power is likely to flow to China's regional centers, says Gerald Segal, a scholar at London's International Institute for Strategic Studies. He even raises the possibility that China could break apart, amid civil war and mass migration. "In the longer term, you can argue that China is better managed in a looser way," he says. "The difficulty is getting there without a lot of bloodletting."

The former Yugoslavia brings daily reminders of just how brutal nationalist movements can become. And even in Canada and Western Europe, where few expect the separatists to go to war, minorities in newly assertive regions complain of discrimination, and businesses consider fleeing rather than face disruption. When Quebecers first discussed independence, a slew of corporations reduced their staffs in Montreal or moved outright to Toronto. The global challenge, says Oleh Havrylyshyn of the International Monetary Fund, is to find

**FRAYING TIES** IN CHINA, UNEVEN PROSPERITY  
THREATENS UNITY, QUEBEC MAY SPLINTER CANADA, VIOLENCE HAS HIT SRI LANKA, BUT CZECHS AND SLOVAKS PARTED AMICABLY

says Charles Tilly, an expert on nationalism at the New School for Social Research in New York. "We've created an international structure where you can assert you're a nation, and the rest of us



© 1995 Time Inc. Photo Credit: Gianni Giansanti/SYGMA. From TIME Magazine.



Even a man who addresses  
billions of people a year  
has a side that's rarely seen.

**Understanding comes with TIME.**



a "satisfied nationalism" that frees regions to set their own destiny without sparking a violent breakup.

Barcelona shows how a balance can be achieved. The Mediterranean city, the capital of an independent Catalonia during the Middle Ages and in brief periods afterward, was smothered by the Franco dictatorship, with the Catalan language suppressed and the regional government disbanded. Now, with democracy and much autonomy restored, Catalonia remains part of Spain but looks to Europe and the global economy for its future.

**T**o finance local projects, Catalonia borrowed 1 billion French francs (\$178 million) in Europe's capital markets. Joan Vallve, Catalonia's former Secretary for Foreign Initiatives, led a trade mission to Indonesia and talks about Europe and North Africa replicating the North American Free Trade Agreement. Catalonia's growing autonomy has sapped the drive for full independence: The secession party polls in single digits, and Barcelona has suffered none of the violence plaguing the Basque region.

Quebec also shows the changing face of separatism. In the 1970s, the movement was fed by complaints of blue-collar French speakers that the best jobs were reserved for English speakers. But separatist leaders have become more sophisticated. "The fundamental discovery of our time," says Jacques Parizeau, who heads the Parti Quebecois and was elected Quebec's Premier, is "that a small country can prosper so far as it exists within larger markets."

The separatists broke with their labor supporters to back the Canadian-U.S. Free Trade Agreement in 1988 and NAFTA last year. The reason: NAFTA offers Quebec an economically viable way out of Canada. So long as Quebec faces no tariff barriers, it can continue trading with the rest of Canada as well as with the U.S., Mexico, and any other countries that eventually join the trade zone.

Parizeau's party plans to hold a referendum on secession later this year, although polls show an uphill fight. The separatists' contention that free-trade blocs make secession safe is questioned by skeptics who warn that English speakers may flee.

Some of the world's separatists, though, may underestimate post-cold-war dangers. Regional military powers could threaten the newly fragmented, weak countries. "What happens in the future if there is a threat to the nation-

state?" asks Robert Hormats, vice-chairman of Goldman Sachs International. "Has it been so weakened that it can't coalesce to meet a national threat?"

That's a risk that separatists seem willing to take. More than any one region, Central Europe is a laboratory of how to split nations apart. A day's drive from the grisly Balkan breakup, the Czech Republic and Slovakia negotiated a peaceful divorce with 40 separate agreements that divided pensions, social security, the military, and foreign-treaty responsibilities.

But not without cost. Even though the two new nations didn't put tariffs on each other's goods, trade between them fell 16% last year as each tried to sell more to Western Europe. The Czech Republic has been far more successful at

sense of belonging, and many people fear ceding control to them.

In India's high-tech center of Bangalore, which benefits from growing international contacts, Hindu fundamentalism is on the rise. So is the Sons of the Soil movement, which wants to keep local jobs for local workers. Opponents of the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade organized protests by hundreds of thousands of people who fear that GATT will harm farmers and complain that any benefits won't be shared equally.

But many others see globalization as an opportunity. Tamil émigrés, driven from Sri Lanka by discrimination and civil war, use the very symbol of globalization—the personal computer—to plot their future. Using the Internet, they link



**MANY VOICES BELGIUM HAS SPLIT INTO THREE LANGUAGE REGIONS: FRENCH AND DUTCH, PLUS GERMAN**

stabilizing its currency, curbing inflation, and selling off state companies than Slovakia, which is saddled with big, state-owned arms manufacturers. "We paid a high price for separation, but it was a historic chance to have our own state," says former Deputy Prime Minister Schmognerova, who now is an opposition member of parliament.

In the end, the wealthier Czech Republic may be seen as the winner, having jettisoned a costly southern flank.

But the global economy doesn't just make the world safer for many break-away movements, it also reinforces their desire to assert regional identities. International bureaucracies don't create a

their widely dispersed communities and swap ideas for organizing an autonomous region if not an independent state.

A sampling of such computer messages included an appeal for donations for a "laser eye surgery machine" for a hospital in a Tamil region of Sri Lanka, a personal ad from a young woman hoping to marry a Tamil-speaking professional, and a discussion of the restrictive quotas facing Tamils at home. "To redress our grievances," says Neelan Tiruchelvam, a Tamil lawyer in Colombo, "we think not only of the island of Sri Lanka but of integrating into the world economy." He could be speaking for separatists around the world.

*Davis is senior special writer for The Wall Street Journal in Washington. This piece is adapted with permission from the original article, which was nominated for an OPC award*



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# The Overseas Press Club of America ANNUAL AWARDS



By Allan Dodds Frank and Michael S. Serrill, Awards Co-Chairmen

ETHNIC AND NATIONALIST CONFLICT AROUND THE world, chaos and capitalism in newly democratic Russia, and the liberation from dictatorship of two nations, South Africa and Haiti. These stories dominated the news last year and also the winners of the 55th annual OPC awards.

The surge of entries reflects the American media's continued strong interest in global affairs. Of course, it was hard to ignore such compelling stories as the slaughter in Rwanda, the rebellion in the Mexican state of Chiapas, the U.S. occupation of Haiti, and the first post-apartheid elections in South Africa. Many organizations that normally rely on wire services for their overseas news dispatched their best reporters to cover these events. The result was some fine journalism, particularly

out of Africa, an often undercovered continent that figured in 5 of the 18 OPC awards.

We are grateful to the more than 40 dedicated judges who spent many hours reading, watching, and listening. Picking the best from among so many excellent articles and tapes was excruciating. Indeed, the competition was so close in one category, human rights, that the judges gave the award to two entries. Judges recused themselves when entries from their own organizations were being considered.

Our warmest congratulations to the winners, and many thanks to all the correspondents, camerapeople, and photographers who continue to sacrifice their comfort and to risk their lives to bring us news from the most remote—and often most dangerous—corners of the globe.

*Picking the best  
from among so  
many excellent  
entries was  
excruciating*



## 1. THE HAL BOYLE AWARD

*Best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad*

### RAYMOND BONNER

*The New York Times*

"Reports from Rwanda"



"They were just like bureaucrats," said one teacher describing the bands of marauders who killed hundreds of thousands in Rwanda. "They started every morning at 7 and quit at 5." That was one of the more chilling quotes from Bonner's powerful portrait of the slaughter in Rwanda. At the core of his reporting were vivid dispatches from the Zairian refugee camps where more than a million Hutus fled after the victory a Tutsi-led army. No reporter did a better job of evoking the horror and pathos of that country's destruction.

**CITATIONS:** **Associated Press Staff** (Stockholm, Helsinki, Tallin Bureaus) *The Baltic Sea Disaster*  
**Keith B. Richburg** (*The Washington Post*)  
Dispatches from Africa

## 2. THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

*Best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs*

### LAURIE GARRETT

*Newsday/New York Newsday*

"Aids in India"



In her gripping account of a catastrophe in the making, Garrett painted a portrait of a disease that has so far infected just a small part of India's population. But she then described how AIDS could kill as many as 160 million people in India in the coming decade. She showed how squalid living conditions, rampant prostitution, and government-abetted ignorance could lead to an epidemic that will surpass Africa's tragedy.

**CITATIONS:** **Kevin Cullen** (*Boston Globe*) *Life, Death and Hope in Northern Ireland*  
**Marcus Brauchli, Kathy Chen, Joseph Kahn** (*The Wall Street Journal*)  
China's Most Favored Nation Status

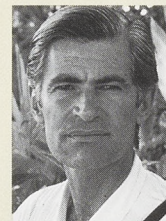
## 3. THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL

*Best photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise*

### JAMES NACHTWEY

*Magnum for Time Magazine*

"Election Violence in South Africa"



South Africa's long and difficult transition from apartheid to open, democratic elections was a story that challenged many photojournalists. But James Nachtwey's searing, close-up images captured the volatility of South Africa's historic moment. In keeping with the spirit of this award, Nachtwey clearly exhibited both courage and enterprise in documenting the struggle as the world watched the country's black majority take political control.

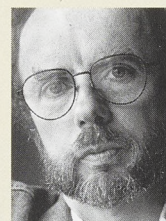
## 4. THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

*Best photography in magazine and books*

### EUGENE RICHARDS

*Life Magazine*

"Children of the Blind"



While much of the work competing in this category dealt with coverage of ongoing international news, Richards focused on a compelling aspect of "river blindness" in Africa—how children bear the burden of helping blind adults. The judges were moved by his images portraying the plight of youngsters forced to assume hardship and responsibilities well beyond their years.

**CITATION:** **Gerd Ludwig** (*National Geographic*)  
*Living with the Monster: Chernobyl's Legacy*

## 5. THE JOHN FABER AWARD

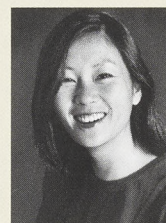
*Best photography in newspaper and wire services*

### YUNGHI KIM

*The Boston Globe*

"Struggle for Democracy"

"Death of a Nation"



Yunghi Kim's images combined a close personal style and dramatic use of light and color. The judges decided to combine two of her entries, one from South Africa and the other from Rwanda, and recognize her for the body of work she produced in covering these two difficult stories.

**CITATIONS:** **Carol Guzy** (*The Washington Post*)  
*Haiti: Out of the Darkness, A Whisper of Hope*  
**Viorel Florescu** (*Newsday/New York Newsday*) *In the Line of Fire*



## 6. THE BEN GRAUER AWARD

*Best radio spot news from abroad*

**DAVID WELNA**  
**MICHAEL SULLIVAN**  
**SUNNI KHALID**  
**DAVID MOLPUS**  
**MIKE O'CONNOR**  
**ALAN TOMLINSON**

*National Public Radio*

"Haiti:

From Terror to Triumph"



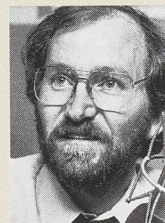
WELNA



SULLIVAN



KHALID



MOLPUS

The NPR pieces were outstanding examples of enterprise reporting, finding people—especially victims of the Haitian police, army, and paramilitary forces—whose stories told in microcosm the larger political saga of a country under siege by its own authorities. They provided listeners with a rich and textured picture of Haiti.

**CITATION:** Ross Simpson, Joe Walsh

*(Mutual Broadcasting)*

Haiti Coverage: Blood on the Microphone

## 7. THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

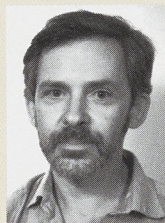
*Best radio interpretation of foreign affairs*

**MARK LAVIE**

*Mutual Broadcasting "America in the Morning"*

"Middle East Peace:

A Matter of Faith"



The Mutual broadcast team seamlessly integrated stories of individual Palestinians with the broader politics of establishing a Palestinian entity in previously occupied territories. That provided listeners with a good sense of emotions on the ground and of the practical problems of taking over a region that has known decades of poverty and alienation.

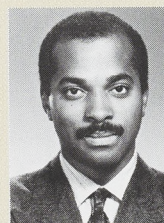
## 8. THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

*Best TV spot news reporting from abroad*

**RON ALLEN**

*ABC World News Tonight*

"Rwanda—Genocide and Distintegration"



ALLEN



WOOTEN

**JIM WOOTEN**

*ABC World News Tonight*

"Tragedy in Rwanda"

ABC News correspondents and crew members were deeply affected by the death wave they encountered, but they continued producing professional and moving pieces. Allen and his crew told a clear and comprehensive story as the country's population fled and began to die of disease and famine. Wooten and his crew had a different task—producing more impressionistic pieces. He made no attempt to conceal his shock as a father and grandfather at seeing families dying about him.

**CITATIONS:** Anthony Mason, Patricia Shevlin

*(CBS Evening News) D-Day series*

Linda Pattillo, Jon Banner, Ingrid Arnesen,

Harold Maas *(ABC News)*

Haiti's Struggle for Democracy

## 9. THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

*Best TV interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs*

**PAMELA HILL**

**PETER ARNETT**

**BRIAN BARGER**

**PETER BERGEN**

**RICHARD MACKENZIE**

**ROBERT ZUILL**

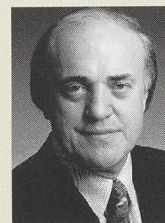
*CNN*

"CNN Presents:

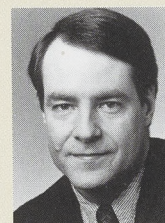
Kingdom of Cocaine"



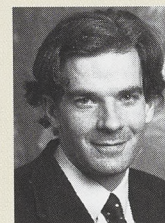
HILL



ARNETT



BARGER



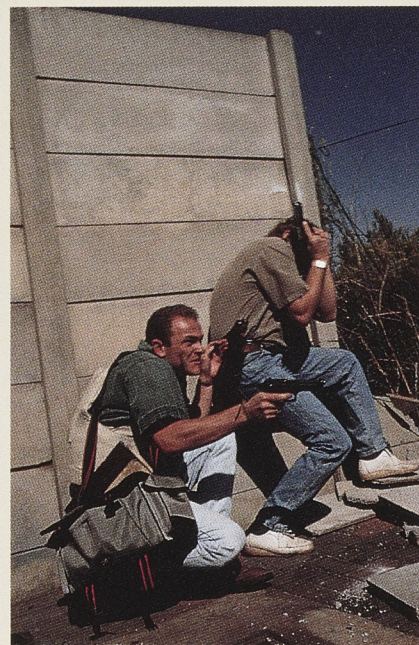
BERGEN

A comprehensive, enterprising, and courageous look at how the Colombian cocaine trade has become one of the world's largest multinational enterprises. This fascinating documentary used finely balanced reporting to show how the Cali cartel has expanded its cocaine distribution network through underworld alliances in North America, Italy, and most recently Russia.

**CITATION:** Peter Jennings, David Gelber *(ABC News)*

While America Watched: The Bosnia Tragedy





The Robert Capa Gold Medal  
**JAMES NACHTWEY**

THESE SCENES FROM  
SOUTH AFRICA ARE  
SOMBER REMINDERS OF  
APARTHEID'S LAST DAYS.

A ZULU WARRIOR LIES  
DEAD IN DOWNTOWN  
JOHANNESBURG (TOP);  
FIREFIGHTS IN THOKOZA

TOWNSHIP PIN DOWN  
BYSTANDERS (LEFT)  
AND CATCH POLICE  
IN A CROSSFIRE



The Olivier Rebbot Award

## EUGENE RICHARDS

DESTITUTION AND  
DETERMINATION IN THE  
WAKE OF RIVER  
BLINDNESS. A WOMAN  
STRICKEN WITH THE  
DISEASE BEGS IN A  
MARKET IN NIAMEY,  
NIGER (RIGHT); AND  
A TWO-YEAR-OLD GIRL  
GUIDES HER BLINDED  
GRANDFATHER THROUGH  
THEIR VILLAGE



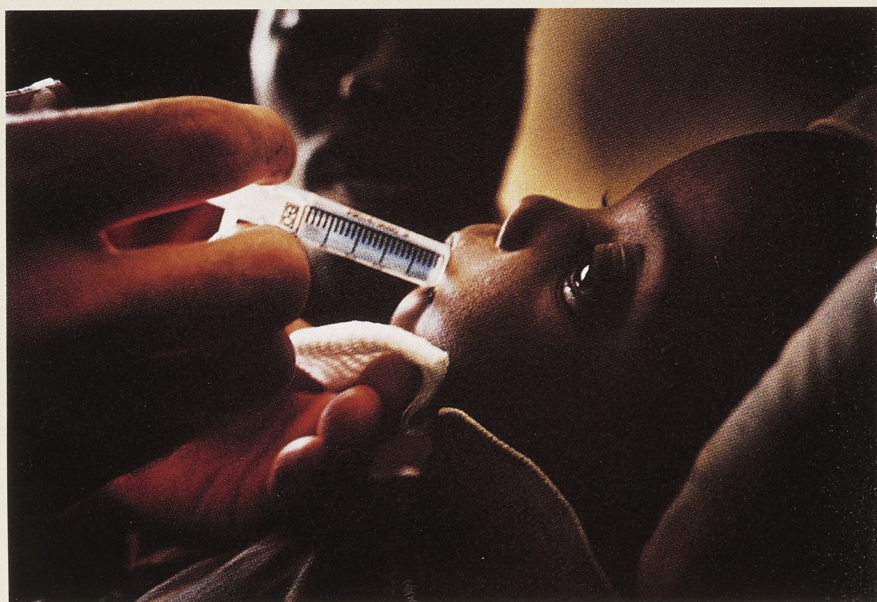




The John Faber Award

## YUNGHI KIM

IN THE RWANDAN  
REFUGEE CAMPS  
AROUND GOMA, ZAIRE,  
LIFE—AND DEATH—  
GOES ON. CHILDREN  
STILL PLAY CHILDREN'S  
GAMES (ABOVE); A  
DEHYDRATED BABY IS  
GIVEN WATER.







RWANDAN ONLOOKERS  
TRY IN VAIN TO  
SQUELCH THE STENCH  
OF ROTTING CORPSES  
(RIGHT, TOP);  
GRIEF-STRICKEN  
FAMILY AND FRIENDS  
BURY A ZAIRIAN MAN  
SAID TO HAVE BEEN  
MURDERED BY A  
CORRUPT ZAIRIAN  
ARMY OFFICER



## 10. THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL

*Best magazine reporting from abroad*

**ROBERT DOWLING  
FRANK J. COMES  
CHRISTOPHER POWER  
AND TEAM**

*Business Week*

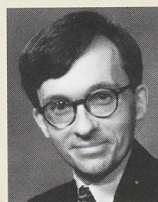
"21st Century Capitalism"



DOWLING



COMES



POWER

This in-depth analysis of what lies ahead for the world economy in the next century was both original and compelling. Drawing on *Business Week's* international resources, the team explored everything in the new world economic order from capitalism in China and entrepreneurship in the former Soviet Union to a globe where technology is erasing national boundaries.

**CITATION:** Allister Sparks (*The New Yorker*)  
The Secret Revolution

## 11. THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

*Best cartoon on foreign affairs*

**HERBERT BLOCK**  
*The Washington Post*  
Cartoons by Herblock



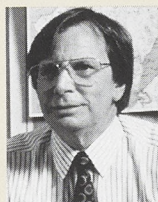
Visual commentary on world events has been his mission at *The Washington Post* for nearly 50 years. He has a keen and insightful view of the world, and he couples this with a masterful artistic talent. Through his commentary, which is both artistic and amusing, Block makes the lives of world leaders very uncomfortable.

**CITATION:** Jeff Danziger (*The Christian Science Monitor*)

## 12. THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

*Best business reporting from abroad in magazines*

**JONATHAN BEATY**  
*Time Magazine*  
"Russia's Yard Sale"



Jonathan Beaty insinuated himself into the Russian black market to provide his readers with an exceptionally penetrating look at how the assets of the former Soviet Union are being stolen at an alarming rate. By posing as a businessman, Beaty took his readers on a roller-coaster ride through the labyrinthine Russian economy as he sorted through mobsters, military men, corrupt bureaucrats, and would-be entrepreneurs.

**CITATION:** John Glover (*Institutional Investor*)  
A Death in Tangentopoli

## 13. THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

*Best business reporting from abroad  
in newspapers or wire services*

**ROB URBAN  
LAURA ZELENKO  
MAYUMI OTSUMA  
JAMES ROLLE  
MARK GILBERT**  
*Bloomberg Business News*  
"Prime Bank Fraud"



URBAN



ZELENKO

Bloomberg's investigative reporting was gripping and unfolded around the world with a long and colorful cast of characters. The series raised the curtain on the dark side of the explosive growth in global capital markets, revealing the gullibility of investors and traders alike.

## 14. THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

*Best business and/or financial reporting  
in the broadcast media*

**BRIAN ROSS  
RHONDA SCHWARTZ  
BRENDA BRESLAUER  
JILL RACKMILL**  
*Dateline NBC*  
"Made in China"  
"Deadly Cargo"  
"Secret Cargo"



ROSS



SCHWARTZ



BRESLAUER

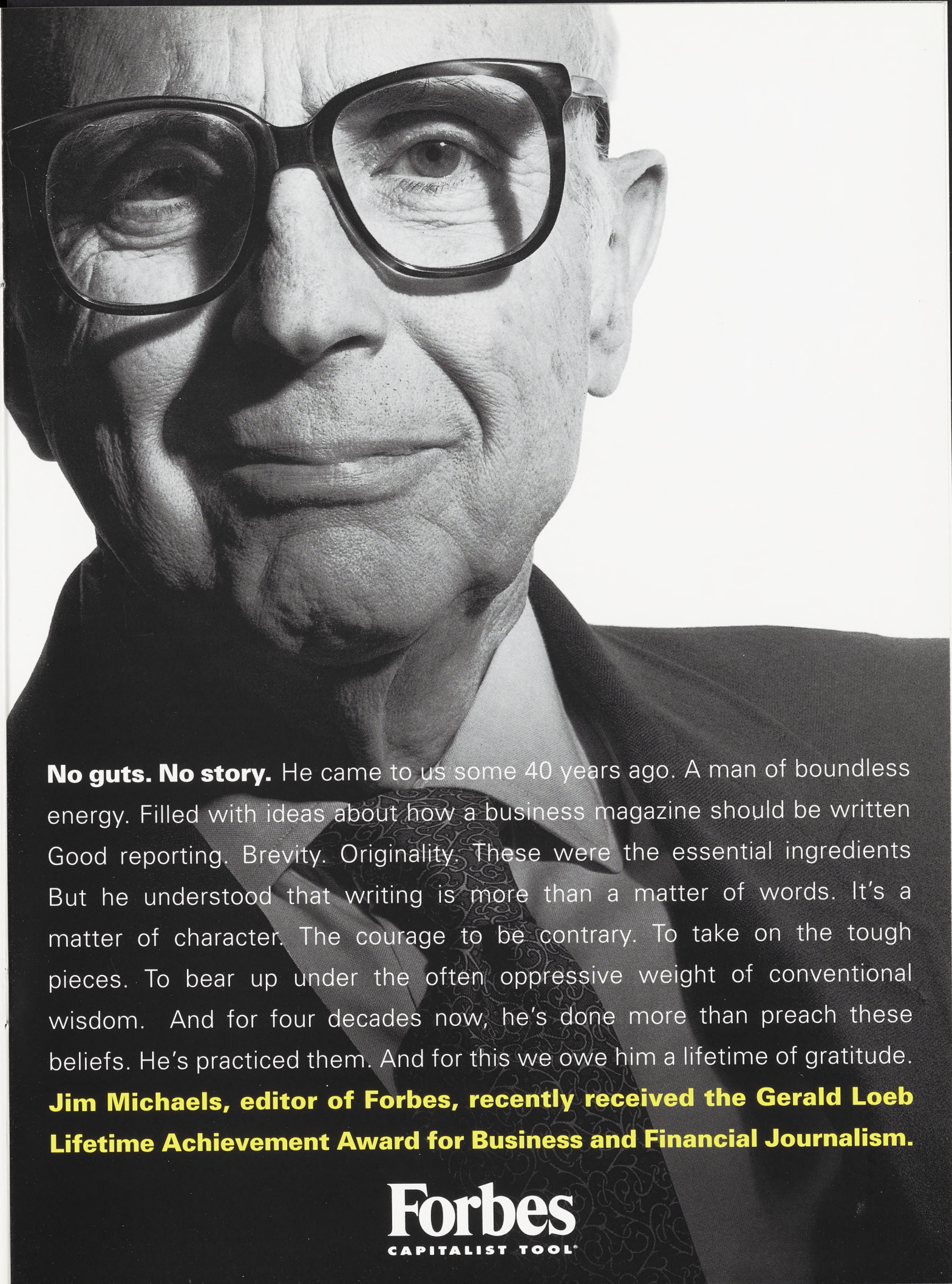


RACKMILL

The three episodes detailed the export of Chinese weapons to the U.S. and the involvement of the Chinese military in trade and espionage. The reporters showed unusual enterprise, ingenuity, and imagination in dealing with a subject that is of growing importance.

**CITATION:** Simon Marks, Emma Gray  
(*The Wall Street Journal Report*)  
Murder, Millionaires and the Mob:  
The Russian Economy in Transition





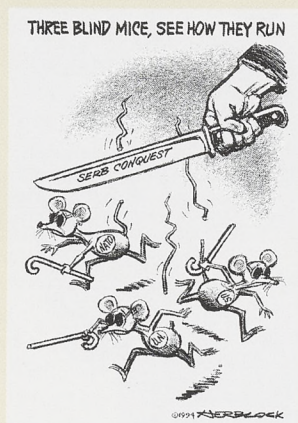
**No guts. No story.** He came to us some 40 years ago. A man of boundless energy. Filled with ideas about how a business magazine should be written. Good reporting. Brevity. Originality. These were the essential ingredients. But he understood that writing is more than a matter of words. It's a matter of character. The courage to be contrary. To take on the tough pieces. To bear up under the often oppressive weight of conventional wisdom. And for four decades now, he's done more than preach these beliefs. He's practiced them. And for this we owe him a lifetime of gratitude.

**Jim Michaels, editor of Forbes, recently received the Gerald Loeb Lifetime Achievement Award for Business and Financial Journalism.**

**Forbes**  
CAPITALIST TOOL



## The Cartoons of Herbert Block



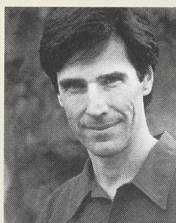
## 15. THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

*Best nonfiction book on foreign affairs*

**MICHAEL IGNATIEFF**

*Farrar, Straus and Giroux*  
"Blood and Belonging"

Michael Ignatieff's book blended impressive on-the-ground reporting in some of the world's most troubled regions with sharp, relevant generalizations about political and social conflict. His book, which focuses on outbreaks of nationalism in the post-cold-war world, probes a range of societies suffering either disintegration or deep distress, from the former Yugoslavia to Northern Ireland.



## 16. THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

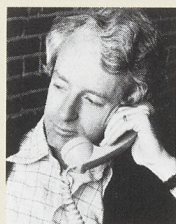
*Best correspondent in any medium showing a concern for the human condition*

**ADAM HOCHSCHILD**

*Viking*

"The Unquiet Ghost:  
Russians Remember Stalin"

The author set himself a daunting task: to explore how a recovering nation can come to terms with the horror of its recent past. This penetratingly reported, deeply felt, and keenly imaginative book concludes that the deliberate extermination of 20 million people by Joseph Stalin and his regime made all Russians both victims and perpetrators.



**CITATIONS:** Stan Grossfeld (*The Boston Globe*)

Lost Futures

Anne Garrels (*National Public Radio*)

Russia: The Human Cost of Reform

## 17. THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

*Best reporting in any medium dealing with human rights*

**ROGER COHEN**

*The New York Times*

"Death Camp in Bosnia"



After years of both confirmed and unconfirmed atrocity stories, the author looked carefully into the bloody history of one camp run by Bosnian Serbs. Bit by bit, with the help of one guard and several survivors, Cohen meticulously reconstructs the murder and terror that took place.

**ANDREW TKACH**

*ABC News—Turning Point*

"Of Human Bondage:  
Slavery Today"



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**CITATION:** Gayle Young, Mary Rogers (CNN)  
Female Circumcision

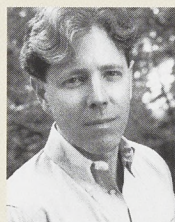
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The Untold Story of the Exxon Valdez





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# Why Africa's Agony Matters

By Joshua Hammer

Exactly one year ago, I bore witness to one of the darkest events in African—and human—history. Days after the Apr. 6 assassination of Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana, I jumped on a Red Cross convoy heading from Burundi to the Rwandan capital of Kigali to report on the ongoing massacres against the minority Tutsi tribe. That first night, a handful of correspondents gathered around the bar at the Hotel des Mille Collines, drinking bottles of warm Primus beer as gunshots and screams echoed over the swimming pool.

The next morning, we hot-wired cars abandoned by fleeing expatriates and drove around the neighborhood, negotiating our terrified way past corpses and roadblocks thrown up by drunken Hutu militiamen. At a makeshift Red Cross hospital, a young Tutsi woman sat in a daze: Half her ear and a chunk of her skull had been hacked away by a machete.

The scenes I witnessed conjured up the darkest clichés about Africa: a primitive continent stuck in a medieval time warp, consumed by tribal hatred.

Why does tribalism continue to blight

*For the West to turn its back means inciting more catastrophes on the level of Rwanda and Somalia*

Africa? And why should the West care? Those are questions I continually ask myself as I travel the continent, documenting a depressing onslaught of tribal wars, coups, and rebel movements: the escalation of ethnic tension in Bujumbura between Hutus and Tutsis; continuing anarchy in Liberia; tribal clashes in the Rift Valley of Kenya; and the U.N.'s failure

in clan-splintered Somalia.

I see the effects of tribalism in my own home in Nairobi, when my housekeeper, a member of the Luhya tribe from western Kenya, mutters darkly that "we just can't trust the Kikuyus." My Luo gardener expresses fear that President Daniel arap Moi, a Kalenjin, will send his thugs to burn down the homes of Luos who dare to oppose him in the next presidential election.

Tribal rivalries surely existed before colonial times. But at the risk of sounding politically correct, I think it's fair to say that European colonialists merit considerable blame for weaving tribal thinking into the fabric of African societies. By playing one ethnic group against others—packing the army with one tribe, the bureaucracy with another, relegating others to serfdom—colonialists reinforced artificial differences that later became useful in a cynical game of political manipulation.

These days, demagogic leaders like Kenya's Moi or Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko regularly play the tribal card to spread panic and shore up their support. Many Kenyans I've talked to say that until the last few years, they rarely thought in tribal terms. Now newspapers are filled with government allegations of rebel plots by Kikuyus and Luos, and ruling party hacks openly endorse majimboism, which means physically dividing the country along ethnic lines.

Nowhere did the politics of tribalism bear more horrific results than in Rwanda. When Rwanda's Hutu government faced the sudden loss of power through

the advent of multipartyism in 1994, leaders plotted to wipe out the opposition once and for all—by targeting the entire Tutsi tribe. Tutsis and Hutus had lived together and intermarried for generations, but Hutu extremists played upon recent history—Belgian favoritism of the Tutsis and a simmering guerilla war—to arouse suspicion and fear among the Hutu peasantry and set the stage for mass murder.

As I traveled across Rwanda during the civil war last May and June, bouncing over dusty mountain roads with escorts from the Rwandan Patriotic Front, I was amazed at the diabolically methodical nature of the genocide. In village after village, I waded through corpse-strewn, red-brick churches where Tutsis had been promised refuge by the local burgermeister, or may-







**ON THE ROAD TO GOMA:  
THERE'S NO TIME TO  
STOP TO BURY A CHILD**

der posts or church pews strewn with corpses produce the inevitable frisson of horror among Western viewers, but it's all pretty remote from our day-to-day lives. There is a growing sense that Africa doesn't matter, that its destitute economies and endless tribal feuds can never be fixed. Recent failed experiments in intervention—such as the two-year, \$4 billion U.N. debacle in Somalia—reinforce that sense of helplessness and apathy.

But Africa does matter. The struggles being played out today on the continent—between democracy and the one-party state, between a free press and censorship, between ethnic division and national unity—are the same ones that shaped the development of much of the world. And for the West to turn its back means encouraging further mischief by African demagogues and inciting more catastrophes on the level of Rwanda and Somalia. Africa's tragedies, after all, aren't self-contained: They produce hundreds of thousands of refugees, stir up ethnic violence in neighboring countries,

or—then delivered to Hutu militias and soldiers for slaughter.

The killings were carried out with the knowledge—and often complicity—of Hutu civilians. In many towns, I discovered, local party officials fabricated lists of Hutu names they claimed to have seized from Tutsis and warned Hutus that “the Tutsis are planning to kill you all.”

As one survivor who watched his Hutu neighbors turn overnight to butchers told me: “It was complete manipulation of very poor people.” The use of government to serve murderous ends went hand-in-hand with the corruption of other institutions, including the media. Hutu journalists spread the message by radio that the only good Tutsi is a dead Tutsi. Months later, in the refugee camps of northeast Zaire, those same journalists worked with the Hutu militias, or interahamwe, to disseminate propagan-

da that the new Tutsi-led government was killing Hutus in retribution for the genocide.

Increasingly, the West's impulse seems to be to turn away from such nightmares. Images of machetes piled at bor-

der posts and set the stage for further expense and more lives needlessly lost.

I'm persuaded that the continent can find its way out of the morass of tribalism—with the right leadership. Progressives such as Uganda's Yoweri Museveni are confronting the divisive legacies of their predecessors, building broad-based governments, and seeking a balance between tribal and national identities. Ethiopia's leaders seem determined to restore credibility to the judiciary, the press, and other institutions debased during the brutal regime of Haile Mengistu Mariam. Rwanda, too, is readying trials for the Hutu militiamen and government officials who planned the genocide.

By helping to safeguard Africa's fledgling democratic institutions and promoting the rule of law, the West can do its part to prevent a recurrence of Rwanda's tragedy.



*HAMMER HAS traveled widely in Africa and Asia. A contributor to many publications before joining Newsweek in 1988, he has been Newsweek's Nairobi bureau chief since 1993.*





# Thunder on the Chechen Horizon

By Laura Randall

**O**ur rickety bus and truck caravan carrying journalists, equipment, and crews from WTN, Reuters, Associated Press TV, the BBC, and Eurovision set out at 5:30 a.m. on Dec. 11 to make what used to be a two-hour drive from Vladikavkaz to Grozny. Everyone was still wishfully thinking that Russia would back down on its threat to attack Chechnya. Although it seemed incomprehensible for this military giant

to use its force against the tiny breakaway region, it seemed equally unlikely that Russia would be willing to withdraw its forces and face a de facto defeat by the Chechens.

Several hours and many Russian and Chechen checkpoints later, we arrived at the Dinamo Hotel in the center of Grozny. As we began unloading our many cases of television and satellite gear, we heard the news that Russian tanks had begun rolling across the border. The attack had begun.

Eurovision immediately began setting up its portable flyaway satellite dish, and for the next seven days, news agencies, broadcasters, and radio and print journalists filed reports 24 hours a day on the Russian bombardment.

We at WTN had split up our team when we left Vladikavkaz, leaving behind a crew to cover the Russian side of the invasion. So our team in Grozny consisted only of myself and tape editor/cameraman Sergei Kovelevich working with five of our Tbilisi bureau cameramen.





**WHEN THE  
BULLETS FLY:  
HELICOPTER  
GUNSHIPS  
WERE THE  
BIGGEST  
DANGER**

were shooting at anything that looked non-Russian. Any of our cars could have been hit at any time.

Meanwhile, from Moscow, we were hearing of growing threats from unnamed Defense and Foreign Ministry officials. They said journalists continuing to work in Chechnya would have their visas and accreditations revoked. We had also been warned that our safety could not and would not be guaranteed by the Russian authorities.

As each day passed, we all grew more and more tired and stressed out. Our food and water supplies, which we carried in from Vladikavkaz were running low. The hotel had no heat or hot water—in fact, it barely had any running water at all. Since the building wasn't wired to handle the electrical demands of high-voltage television equipment, we could operate our small electric space heater in our work/sleeping space only when we weren't editing and overloading the ancient electrical system. One benefit of being so tired when we finally finished our work well after midnight was that we seldom heard the overnight bombing.

There were long hours when the pace

*The question every  
combat reporter  
asks: "Is it worth  
risking your life?"*

of our work and the necessity to quickly turn around large amounts of information and videotape kept our minds off the growing danger posed by the approaching Russian forces. But in the evenings, in the central lounge of the Dinamo (which had become the informal press center for all the journalists working in Grozny), debate was growing about whether to stay and defy the Russian warnings or to seek safer ground outside Grozny.

**T**he reality of the danger we faced did not really sink in until word came from Moscow that our position and the Eurovision satellite dish had been designated a "strategic location" and, as such, would be directly targeted by the Russians. The journalists who argued for staying said that once out, we would be stopped at border checkpoints and prevented from getting back in to cover the story. They also felt the Russians were bluffing in their threats against journalists.

But in my mind, there was no question that the Russians wanted us out of the combat zone so they could proceed, unmonitored, to destroy Grozny. Those of us who argued in favor of moving to a new location felt that a destroyed satellite dish and casualties among the journalists would make reporting the story impossible.

Every journalist working in a conflict area knows the one question he or she must eventually ask: Is it worth risking your life to tell the story?

In the case of Chechnya, and I suspect in most other places, you get caught up in doing your job, gathering

They shuttled field tapes to us from around Grozny. Only after "Kov" and I had our Inmarsat telex working and could communicate with the outside world (no telephones in Grozny connect to Moscow or anywhere else), did we begin taping our windows against bomb blasts.

As the week progressed, the Russian aerial bombardment moved closer and closer to the center of Grozny. In the early evenings, tracer rockets lit up the sky followed by what became nightly bombardments of the suburbs. Throughout the days, we edited pictures of the bombing aftermath and the Russian ground troops fighting in areas closer and closer to our location. Our cameramen, however, were most worried by the helicopter gunships flying overhead that



mitting. You forget your surroundings. The sound of bombing can become very much like thunder in the distance if you don't concentrate on what it really is. When you pull your sleeping bag over your head at night, with your clothes still on for extra warmth, you think only about having your boots, coat, money, and credentials at your bedside, ready to grab if you have to evacuate in the middle of the night. You try not to face the answer to that unavoidable question: Is it worth it?

**Y**ou also find yourself looking for comfort wherever you can find it. Safety in numbers in terms of other journalists. Safety with friendly soldiers who can guide you through the minefields of the front lines. You try to push from your mind thoughts about what could happen. When your crew has gone to an area you later hear has been heavily shelled, you feel sick with worry until they return safely to tell their victory stories of near misses. And if you're like me and all the other journalists who camped together in Grozny, you continue doing your job, day to day, hour to hour, hoping that someone else will soon make the decision to order you to safer ground.

No one among us would have asked to leave, but most of us breathed a very deep sigh of relief when our desks in London finally decided the situation had become too dangerous. It was only then that we heard those comforting words: "Pack up and move out of Grozny."

I haven't been back to Grozny to see, but I can't imagine that the Dinamo Hotel is still standing. Being so close to the presidential palace, it must have been flattened.

RANDALL HAS BEEN BASED IN Moscow with WTN for 18 months. Previously, she was a freelancer for seven years. She arrived in Moscow and got her trial by fire two weeks later, when tanks blasted the White House in September, 1993.



**CAPTURED: A RUSSIAN SOLDIER IS LED AWAY**

## The Cost of Covering Chechnya

By Deborah Seward

**I**n the weeks after Russia marched into Chechnya, setting off the worst armed conflict on Russian soil since World War II, four journalists were killed.

Cynthia Elbaum, 28, an American freelance photographer, died in a Russian air strike on Grozny on Dec. 22. Vladimir Zhitarenko, 54, a Russian correspondent for the army newspaper *Red Star*, was shot in the head by a sniper on New Year's Eve in Grozny. Jochen Pietsch, a correspondent for the German news magazine *Stern*, was killed in the Chechen village of Chervlyonna on Jan. 10, shot by a Chechen rebel who drove a train through a Russian roadblock and opened fire with a machine gun. Valentin Yanus, 56, a Russian television cameraman for Channel 5 in St. Petersburg, was killed while filming in the center of Grozny on Jan. 14.

Three days later, Barry Renfrew, AP's bureau chief, AP photographer Efram Lukatsky, and Sergei Kantere, chief of communications for AP's Moscow bureau, were walking down a deserted street in central Grozny when they apparently were spotted by a Russian jet fighter. It fired a rocket that exploded so close to

them they were knocked to the ground.

In short, danger came from all sides: air attacks, artillery, sniper fire. Experienced Yugoslav journalists who had covered the war in their country traveled around with their blood types on their helmets and flak jackets. But the risk of death didn't deter the hundreds of journalists who poured into Chechnya. Nor did the abysmal physical conditions.

When the war began, Russian media quickly compared the destruction of Grozny to the leveling of Stalingrad. The analogy was apt. Following days of nonstop rocket, artillery, and mortar attacks, Grozny was a smoking shell. Its infrastructure was completely destroyed. Telephones did not work. Electricity and water supplies were disrupted. As temperatures dropped below zero, the only heat came from wood fires. Medical facilities were overwhelmed and faced shortages of medicines and doctors.

When Grozny became too dangerous for journalists to stay overnight, AP and other journalists set up bases in Khasav-yurt, 46 miles to the east, and Nazran, 37 miles to the west of the capital. Crossing front lines and going through the checkpoints became a daily hazard, especially after dark, when much of



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**UNANSWERED PRAYERS: GROZNY FELL, BUT FIGHTING WENT ON**

Chechnya became a free-fire zone. The trip into Grozny took hours. Some reporters hitched rides in armored personnel carriers driven by Russian troops, which obviously left them vulnerable to Chechen attacks. Others were ferried about in Chechen armored vehicles, targets for Russian fire. Those who drove in private cars were targets for both sides.

Then there were the bureaucratic roadblocks. Unlike the Soviet era, when Chechnya would have been declared off limits, the Russian government did little to prevent journalists from traveling to the area, other than warning that those without proper documents risk arrest. But from the beginning of the war, it was clear the Russians had no idea how to handle the press or explain their war effort. They did know how to make it difficult to get press passes. Initially, the Russian government passes had to be applied for in Moscow and required a 10-day wait and accreditation with the Russian Foreign Ministry, which could take months. In January, the government instituted a new set of documents, and journalists had to start over again. Russian troops at checkpoints often didn't have a clue about which documents were needed.

Early on, even when reporters had the proper papers, there were many incidents

of Russian troops firing warning shots at journalists at checkpoints. Journalists were not allowed on base at the Russian military headquarters in Mozdok, 80 miles northwest of Grozny, without Russian government credentials. Some troops were willing to be interviewed by journalists, as long as the reporters could endure a meal with hours of toasts and still be clearheaded enough to file.

As the war went on, journalists were sometimes detained for up to several days at checkpoints or by individual Russian units. Alexander Zemlianichenko, an AP photographer, and Eleanor Montague, an AP TV producer, were driving after dark toward Nazran on Feb. 22 when their car came under attack. Zemliani-

chenko was wounded in the leg. When they continued toward Nazran, they were stopped by Russian troops and detained overnight, despite his wounds. He didn't get proper medical care until they were released the next day.

The Chechens were initially hospitable to the press in hopes of winning support for their drive for independence. As the war went against them though, they, too, became unfriendly and suspicious. AP reporter Dave Carpenter was questioned for several hours and released only after he convinced the Chechens that he was not a Russian spy.

Finally, as the war dragged on into spring, it became clear that there was yet another stumbling block for journalists covering Chechnya. The stories were still pouring out of the war zone, but the drama of the fight for Grozny was over, and the killing in outlying areas wasn't as photogenic.

As a result, interest in Chechnya fell off the map, just as suddenly as it appeared. It wasn't like the war in the former Yugoslavia, which is an international story involving the U.N., the diplomatic contact group, and the residual U.S. vs. Russia conflict. The challenge facing journalists covering Chechnya became how to keep the world interested in a nasty little war that is no longer news.

SEWARD WORKED FOR NEWSWEEK in New York, Paris, and Bonn before joining AP in Warsaw in 1988. After a stint in Berlin, she worked the AP in-

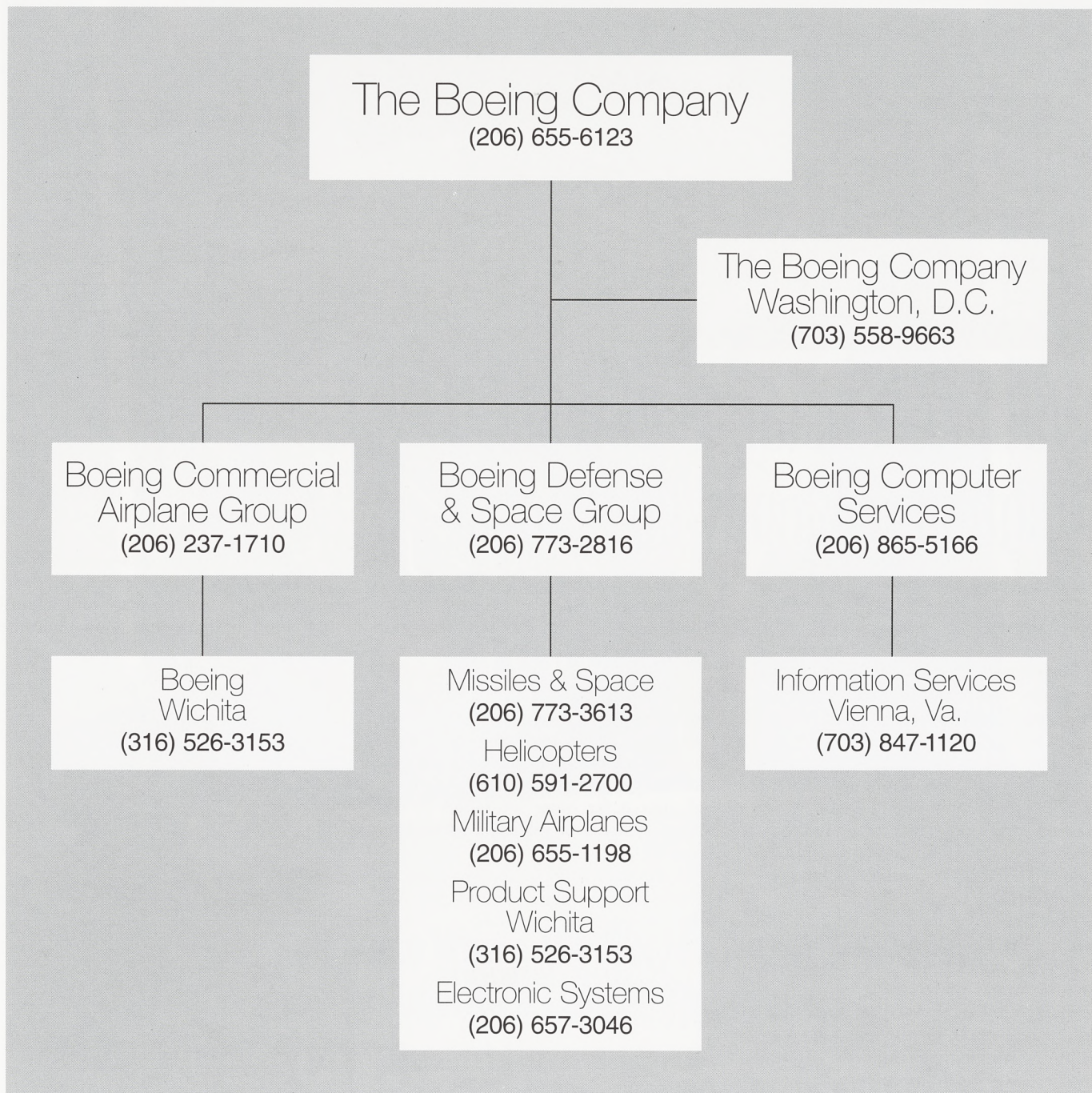
ternational desk in New York until 1991. She became news editor in Moscow in 1993.





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**IN THE MARKET:**  
FRICTION BETWEEN  
DIFFERENT GROUPS  
IS GROWING

never take Russians to hunt or teach them how to survive on the steppe," he growls. "Someday they will leave our country." The Russians, including Cossacks, form about 40% of Kazakhstan's population, little less than that of ethnic Kazakhs. The rest is fragmented among groups ranging from Koreans to Uighurs.

In Almaty, a leafy Russian city nestled below the soaring Tien Shan mountains that separate the Central Asian steppe from China, I found other signs of a proudly reemerging Kazakh culture.

Gulzada Akmolova, 7, was dressed to the nines in a handmade embroidered dress with matching vest and tinkling silver jewelry. It was May Day, and her mother, dressed more soberly, was treating Gulzada to traditional Kazakh food such as lamb dumplings and mutton stew, sold at stalls that day in Almaty's main square.

As Gulzada carefully examined one of the lovely Kazakh dolls in a kiosk, her mother boasted of Gulzada's new school where lessons are taught in Kazakh, a language the mother admitted she spoke

## Will Kazakhstan Follow Its Neighbors' Bloody Footsteps?

By Juliette Rossant

**F**ed up with the senseless chaos of the Armenians fighting Azerbaijanis, and Georgians killing Abkhazians, I had hoped that Kazakhstan would be blissfully tranquil. I was wrong.

My search for the soul of Kazakh culture—handed down by yurt-dwelling nomads who left behind few monuments and even fewer books—took me to the frozen steppe of eastern Kazakhstan, where on a small but surefooted horse I followed Abdulhak Turlibayev and his golden eagle.

Abdulhak is one of the last followers of the 5,000-year-old tradition of hunting foxes with eagles. Over and over for two days, he would ride to the edge of a canyon and remove the leather hood from the bird's eyes. If the eagle spotted a fox in the distance, it would fly off and plunge down on the prey.

Back in our makeshift sleeping quarters, a two-room stone house that we shared with a family of four Kazakh farmers in a little village 60 miles north

of the Kazakh capital of Almaty, I tried to get Abdulhak to talk about the revival of native culture since Kazakhstan became independent three years ago.

With a cold stare, Abdulhak refused to talk. "No one cares about eagle hunting," explained a local Russian-German ornithologist who had come with us. Even though the eagle is Kazakhstan's national symbol, the new Kazakh moneyed class is far more interested in the respective merits of buying a BMW vs. a Mercedes.

But the subject of increasing tensions between Kazakhs and Russians gets Abdulhak to open up just a little. "I will

*Rising tensions  
between Kazakhs and  
Russians could result  
in all-too-familiar  
tragedy*





SUNDAY, APRIL 2, 1995

Newsday

# PARADE

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King Hussein  
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BY TAD SZULC

King Hussein  
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with difficulty. At that school, English, "the language of the future," will come second, and Russian third, she said.

Kazakh-language schools are a source of pride for Kazakhs, but they're a sore point for the Russians, who are being excluded from the country's universities because they don't speak Kazakh. Kazakh nationalism had also led to the ouster of Russians from most managerial, professional, and bureaucratic posts, and hun-

**V**ladimir Osyanikov, the leader, or Ataman, of the Cossacks of Almaty, is a fire chief with meaty hands and a girth to match. When I spoke to him, he reeled off a dozen cases in which Cossacks had been kidnapped, killed, or harassed. "This could turn into a Georgia or a Yugoslavia," he said. "But we will never give up our traditions or our arms, or let them force us off our land."

khstan's trade is with Russia, and its vast reserves of oil must pass through Russia to reach hard-currency markets. Good relations with Russia are essential, but as a politician, Nazarbayev also must take into account the waves of anti-Russian feeling expressed by Kazakhs more and more openly.

Deteriorating relations between the Russians and Kazakhs isn't the only potential flashpoint. Among the Kazakhs,



**STEPPE LIVELY:  
ROSSANT RODE  
FAR IN SEARCH  
OF KAZAKH  
CULTURE**

dreds of thousands have emigrated back.

The fault lines are particularly evident in areas where Kazakhs cohabit closely with Cossacks, descendants of Russian outlaws and adventurers who were given protection by the Tsars in exchange for serving as border guards in the outer reaches of the empire. Kazakhs, on the other hand, are a loose grouping of clans of Mongolian stock, descendants of Genghis Khan who conquered Russia and much of Asia in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The Cossack businessmen I spoke with complained that government officials, who were invariably ethnic Kazakhs, would not grant them export licenses or allow them to participate in privatization. The Cossacks insisted that they needed recognition from the government as a separate ethnic group to ensure their rights.

I had made the mistake of bringing a Kazakh translator, who after much flinching and head-shaking refused to translate all of what the Ataman said. "These people are responsible for all our [ethnic] problems," she said. "How dare they threaten us!"

President Nursultan Nazarbayev has made it clear he doesn't want the Russians to leave: Their skills are vital for the country's development. Most of Kaza-

too, relations are becoming more complicated. The Kazakhs are grouped into three loose clans called hordes—Large, Middle, and Small. While Moscow favored no particular horde, there are increasingly vocal complaints that Nazarbayev is favoring members of his Large Horde. He is accused of stacking the national parliament in favor of his own clan, for example. And jobs in the private and public sector are often awarded on the basis of horde membership, rather than merit.

So the challenges facing the country are manifold. If the increasingly nationalist Russians back in the homeland perceive that their cousins are being seriously threatened in Kazakhstan, or if maneuvering among the Kazakhs themselves becomes too fierce, Kazakhstan's once promising future could be shattered. That would create yet another conflagration that the outside world scarcely understands.

*ROSSANT, CURRENTLY BASED in New York with Forbes, spent three years as a freelance journalist in Moscow and Istanbul reporting on the momentous upheavals in the Caucasus and in Central Asia.*





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# Afghanistan, the 'Disposable' Country

By Eric Weiner

**A**fghanistan was the scene of one of the cold war's most decisive engagements. Here, the Evil Empire met its Vietnam. The twisted and burned remains of Russian helicopters and airplanes are still visible along the runways of Kabul's airport. The Russians also left behind a more deadly legacy: some 10 million land mines. Every day they kill or injure an average of seven Afghans. Kabul is becoming a city of one-legged men and women.

There's an American legacy, too, but it's visible in a different way. The U.S. spent billions of dollars arming the mujahideen, the country's freedom fighters who valiantly challenged the Red Army. Now the mujahideen have turned those

guns on one another, and committed atrocities that often exceed anything the Russians did. Kabul, for instance, was largely untouched during the decade-long war against Moscow. But in the past three years, it has been destroyed by mujahideen factions, using rockets and artillery supplied by both superpowers. And there are enough weapons to arm the mujahideen combatants for at least five more years.

Welcome to Afghanistan—and the war that has been forgotten. It may not have fallen entirely off the news map, but Afghanistan is definitely teetering on the edge. Only a handful of news organizations (mostly wire services) maintain a full-time presence. Editors in Washington and New York don't seem to have an interest in a place that no longer inter-

ests U.S. policymakers. In a rare display of candor, one Western diplomat concedes that "Afghanistan was a disposable country."

Indeed, in the new era's cold calculus, Afghanistan scores quite low. It is one of the world's poorest nations. Unlike other Asian countries, it does not offer a lucrative market. Unlike North Korea or Pakistan, Afghanistan possesses no nuclear capability. In addition, with 10 different factions fighting, there are no easily discernible good or bad guys.

Working conditions for journalists are obviously quite difficult. But places like Bosnia and Somalia are equally arduous and dangerous—and that hasn't stopped journalists from getting there and telling the story. I believe the main reason the world's press largely ignores Afghanistan is simply because the world's governments (and especially the U.S.) ignore it.



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**KABUL CRUMBLES:  
THE WAR GOES ON,  
BUT IT IS FALLING  
OFF THE NEWS MAP**

region, which Pakistan keenly knows. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto recently expressed concern about growing Islamic militancy in her country, which she believes is a direct result of the flow of Afghan weapons and refugees into Pakistan. Bhutto blames the escalating violence in Karachi at least partly on the aftershocks from the Afghan war. Pakistan has also become a

major international drug trafficking center, mainly because of opium grown by Afghanistan's warlords. And according to *Jane's Intelligence Review*, thousands of Islamic militants trained in Afghanistan have fanned out across the world, fighting as mercenaries in wars from Algeria to Bosnia.

Of course, not everyone has ignored

Afghanistan. The U.N. does have a peacekeeping mission there headed by energetic special envoy Mahmud Mestiri. But overall, Afghanistan does seem to have fallen victim to the same plight that has condemned other countries, such as Nicaragua, to irrelevance. Once Washington stops talking about these places, the press stop covering them. It's an easy trap to fall into. After all, it's a big world and we can't cover every nook and cranny. Why not focus on the places that matter most?

The only answer to that question is that we are supposed to be a free press, immune not only from direct censorship but also from the indirect, self-imposed kind that pushes places like Afghanistan off our story lists. This is, I think, a dangerous phenomenon. Our news compasses are supposed to guide us to the most intriguing spots on the globe, not just to the countries whose names roll off the lips of State Dept. officials.

*Weiner is the South Asia correspondent for National Public Radio. He is based in New Delhi*

So why should we care about Afghanistan? For one, people are dying. Rocket attacks on Kabul alone killed an estimated 7,000 people last year. Most of the casualties are civilians, and in my book, that qualifies as news.

Afghanistan is also strategically important as the gateway to Central Asia. An unstable Afghanistan threatens the entire



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# Open Season on the Press

By Norman A. Schorr  
and Dinah Lee

Whatever hazards Western correspondents face in covering the New World Disorder, local journalists usually pay a far higher price. In fact, an undeclared and violent war against the press appears to be under way in many parts of the world. As a result, 1994 was among the bloodiest year for journalists in memory.

There is wide discrepancy about just how many were killed because of different means used in counting. At the high end of the spectrum is Freedom House, which reported that 113 newsmen were murdered, 35 kidnapped or "disappeared," 265 were assaulted, and 311 arrested. For the same period, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), which is more conservative in authenticating its information, reported 72 journalists killed as a direct consequence of their work, and 14 killed in battle zones.

But by whatever measure one judges, there clearly has been a horrific tally of bloody attacks on journalists, the vast majority of them local. Leonard Sussman of *Freedom Review* calls it "pressticide." Some journalists clearly choose to risk their lives by advocating views considered heresy by their governments. But even responsible, balanced journalism is increasingly perceived as a threat by governments as well as opposition groups. The press is caught in a murderous crossfire as ethnic, religious, and tribal protagonists try to wipe out any voice of criticism or opposition. The most dangerous countries include these:

**ALGERIA**, where attacks by religious extremists took the lives of 27 Algerian journalists, has intimidated others by government censorship and shutdowns of news organizations.

**TAJIKISTAN**, the former Soviet republic in central Asia that has been the site of a bitter civil war, has witnessed one of

*Caught in a  
murderous crossfire,  
journalists around the  
world are paying the  
ultimate price*



**GUNNED IN GAZA:  
AP PHOTOGRAPHER  
JOHN GAPS III WAS  
SHOT IN MARCH '94**

the most vicious campaigns of press harassment. At least 27 journalists have been murdered there since 1992, with strong evidence of official involvement, according to a CPJ investigation. Armed opposition groups are alleged to be responsible for attacks on journalists supporting the government. All independent publications and broadcasters have been shut down.

**RWANDA**, where the genocidal massacres that erupted after the suspicious plane crash in April, 1994, has taken the lives of 37 journalists. Reporters Without Borders, the French free-press advocacy group, noted that most of those killed

"were on hit lists because of their professional activities and political involvement." A director of the state-run TV system was killed instantly when he showed soldiers his press card.

**TURKEY**, which is wracked by continuing civil war in its southeastern region, has been the scene of raids, explosions, confiscations, arrests, and other acts of terror against journalists covering the conflict between government forces and the armed Kurdish opposition. Helsinki Watch reported that 32 Turkish journalists and other media employees were murdered between February, 1992, and March, 1994. An estimated 74 to 100 Turkish journalists and writers are currently imprisoned.

Worldwide, there are more journalists in jail today than ever before, according to the CPJ. At the end of 1994, at least 173 reporters, editors, photographers, and broadcasters were imprisoned in 23 countries. Turkey was at the top of the list, followed by China, with 21 journalists in jail; Peru (10); Syria and Vietnam (9 each); and Myanmar (7).

Subtle forms of restriction and intimidation are being used more frequently by governments that fear the power of the press—and not only in countries suffering paroxysms of violence. Increasingly, anti-press laws (paradoxically called press laws) and the courts are being used to shackle the press. More than 30 governments in Eastern and Central Europe, all former members of the Soviet bloc, are instituting press laws to authorize censorship, protect routine government activities as official secrets, and criminalize press criticism of government officials. Likewise in Africa, rather than using overt force, many governments sought recourse through the courts in an attempt to criminalize the actions of journalists.

Press laws that aim to restrict the press have also been widespread in Latin America. Raul E. Kraisselburd, president of the Inter American Press Assn., has



**ASSASSINATED: RUSSIAN  
TELEVISION JOURNALIST  
VLADISLAV LISTIEV WAS  
MURDERED IN MARCH '95**



condemned the "subtle means" that are "aimed at limiting, diminishing, and even doing away with freedom of the press." Press laws in South and Central American countries include mandatory licensing, membership in state-influenced journalist organizations, and journalism degrees as prerequisites for employment in the news media.

Strict censorship is in effect in a number of countries. In July, a columnist in Costa Rica was charged with offending the honor of a public official and convicted of irreverence, drawing a three-year suspended sentence and heavy fine. "One of the first acts of any new govern-

ment is to declare that the press is free," Jane E. Kirtley, director of the U.S.-based Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, has pointed out. "The second act is to attempt to modify that declaration."

**S**upport for this kind of intimidation of the press came recently from a surprising source. In December, the 33-nation Council of Europe passed a resolution affirming its commitment to press freedom, then went on to set forth conditions under which "interference by public authorities with the practice of journalism" would be permis-

sible. The Council, which has been traditionally guided by Western democracies, now includes nine Eastern European countries.

In this climate of subtle and harsh intimidation, the ingenuity and bravery of journalists are being challenged as never before. The Overseas Press Club continues to help. These efforts are carried out in cooperation with the Committee to Protect Journalists, Amnesty International, Freedom House, Human Rights Watch, and other organizations.

*Schorr and Lee are co-chairmen of the OPC Freedom of the Press Committee.*

HERE ARE THE APPEALS AND PROTESTS issued by the OPC Freedom of the Press Committee in the past year:

**ALBANIA** Reporter for independent daily, Martin Leka, accused of revealing state secrets, sentenced to 1½ years in prison.

#### **ALGERIA**

- Salah Gouami, director of Arabic-language organ of Islamic Salvation Front, arrested for publishing communique calling on soldiers to disobey orders to shoot at demonstrators.
- Suspension of 6 newspapers.

**ARGENTINA** Anti-press legislative proposals to enlarge basis for charges of libel and slander, to raise fines and prison terms substantially for these offenses, and to require newspapers to buy libel insurance.

**BENIN** Independent newspaper director, Edgar Kaho, jailed for publishing article exposing corruption.

**BRAZIL** Threats against four journalists with *Cinform* newspaper.

#### **CAMBODIA**

- Violent death of Tou Chhom Mongkol, editor-in-chief of *Antarakhum*.
- Death threats to journalists in U.S. and Cambodia.

- Another assassination, of newspaper editor Nun Chan, and threats to other journalists.
- Killing of third editor, Chan Dara.

**CAMEROON** 4 journalists, including newspaper director and reporters, sentenced to jail for publishing "libelous material" or "false news."

#### **CHINA**

- 26 journalists sentenced to prison for up to 20 years, principally for writing about the prodemocracy movement.
- Further deterioration in freedom of expression.
- Gao Yu, dissident editor, sentenced to prison.



**CROATIA** TV journalists Ognjen Tajic and Milovan Pejanovic jailed for allegedly carrying weapons on Croatian soil.

**CUBA** Radio reporter Yndamiro Restano sentenced to 10 years, charged with "rebellion."

### ETHIOPIA

- 18 journalists with 9 papers arrested, some for reporting on civilian unrest.
- Arrest of 7 editors of independent weeklies.

**INDIA** Daily managing editor Gurdip Singh and proofreader Jasbir Singh arrested on basis of incriminating statements by jailed separatist.

### INDONESIA

- Journalist Adnan Beuransyah charged with subversion for his writing, sentenced to 8 years in prison.
- Shutdown of three newsweeklies.

**IRAN** Newspaper reporter, cartoonist, editor-in-chief accused of espionage, insults to government officials.

**IRAQ** Magazine editor Aziz al-Syed Jasim, former editor of official daily, arrested, "disappeared."

**ISRAEL** Cameraman Ahmad al-Khatib and weekly reporter Mousa Qous imprisoned for membership in banned organizations.

**IVORY COAST** Newspaper publisher Hamed Bakayoko sentenced to year in prison for insulting dignity of head of state.

**KAZAKHSTAN** Karishad Asanov, opposition writer, sentenced to 3 years in prison.

**KUWAIT** 22 journalists, many of whom worked for Iraqi occupation paper during Gulf War, sentenced to terms up to 15 years.

**LEBANON** News-agency photographer Kazem Akhavan, kidnapped at militia checkpoint.

**LIBYA** Writer Abdallah Ali al-Sanussi al-Darrat held for 15 years without trial.

**MAURITANIA** Confiscation of two independent weeklies.

**MYANMAR** 6 journalists, including BBC correspondent, sentenced to jail terms of up to 14 years.

**NIGERIA** Arrests of publisher Moshood Abiola, editor Bola Bolawole, ban on 2 newspaper groups.

### PAKISTAN

- Journalist Sailab Mahsud, sentenced to 16 years for interview with convicted drug trafficker; public protests led to his freedom.
- Assassinations of 2 newsmen.

### PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY

- Proposal to charge journalists large sums of money to accompany Chairman Yassir Arafat on flight from Tunis to Jericho and Gaza.
- Deaths of 2 Reuters reporters, 1 AP reporter while covering Gaza riots.

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## PERU

- Reporter with daily paper, Jose Antonio Alvarez Pachas, detained since 1992, accused of having ties to leftist rebels.
- Death threats against radio journalist, Henry Halanoca Hauyta.

**RWANDA** Janvier Africa, editor of bi-monthly newspaper, convicted of "threatening head of state."

**SINGAPORE** OPC offered support to *International Herald Tribune* relating to the court case initiated by the government of Singapore.

**SLOVAKIA** Political interference in state radio and TV.

**SOUTH KOREA** Magazine journalist, Choi Chin-sop, sentenced to three years in prison for alleged involvement in North Korean spy ring, TV news bureau chief, Masato Shinohara, charged with espionage, sentenced to 2 years in jail.

**SRI LANKA** Demanded investigation of murdered journalist Richard de Zoysa.

**SUDAN** Nadir Mahjoub Mohamed Salih, reporter for banned Communist paper, held since 1993.

**SYRIA** 12 Syrian, Palestinian, and Kurdish journalists, including political writer, radio reporter, editorial writer, and others, held for alleged offenses.

## TAJIKISTAN

- Writer, editor, three other journalists imprisoned for slandering ex-government official.
- Four other journalists detained.
- Killing of editor Khamidjon Khakimov.

**TUNISIA** Editor of banned weekly sentenced to 16 years in prison for critical article and membership in "illegal organization."

**TURKMENISTAN** Disappearance of journalist.

## TURKEY

- 15 editors and reporters with 8 newspapers and magazines arrested principally for unauthorized coverage of the civil war in southeast Turkey.
- Arrest of 4 editors of *Ozgur Ulke* newspaper.
- Raids on 4 magazines, arrests of 30 employees.

**UKRAINE** Newspaper editor Alexander Volosov imprisoned for two years for article on alleged corruption by public prosecutor.

**U.N.** Ban on Taiwan journalists seeking to cover U.N. event in the U.S.

**UZBEKISTAN** 4 journalists, including a newspaper editor-in-chief, sentenced for "embezzlement and abuse of power."

**VIETNAM** 9 journalists with pro-democracy newsletter sentenced to prison terms from 8 months to 15 years.

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# Parachutes, Bigfoot, and Parochialism:

*How the American Media Cover the World*

By Larry Martz

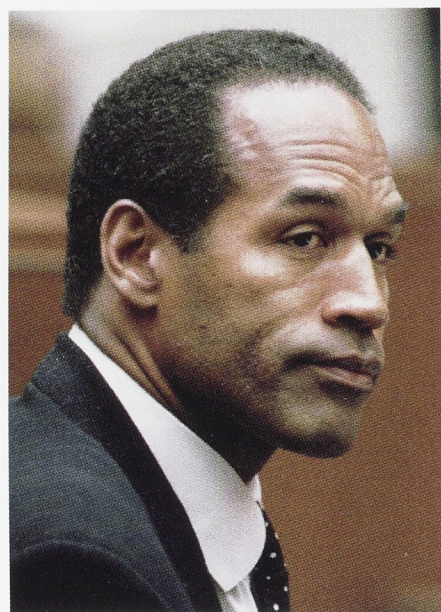
**T**he world is shrinking, America's concerns are global, and all our lives are touched every day by things happening in countries we can hardly spell. Obviously, then, Americans have a growing interest in overseas news and views, and the U.S. media are accordingly gearing up for faster, better, and deeper international coverage.

That is, of course, a sour joke. If Americans have any deep hunger for foreign news coverage, they have managed to conceal it brilliantly. And far from beefing up their international staffs, news executives have been cutting back for years. Even worse, they are actively turning away from covering major international issues in any kind of depth.

Evidence for these sweeping generalizations is spotty, but I don't expect any

serious argument. Apart from *The New York Times*, few major daily papers maintain more than a token international staff these days. The newsmagazines have cut back and are reorganizing their overseas bureaus to airline-like regional "hubs" from which they can send reporters on parachute missions to a dozen countries. The

**O.J. MANIA: SATURATION COVERAGE HAS MANY AMERICANS FIXATED**



PHOTOGRAPHS (TOP-BOTTOM) BY AXEL NOSTER/JP PICTURES, LOIS BERNSTEIN-POOL/REUTER





**CALL TO ACTION: AS IN SOMALIA, THE PRESS CAN CREATE SYMPATHY**

year of the U.N., how many stories and documentaries have you seen assessing its record and where it's going?

Editors laboring in this coal mine are often lectured about their duty to spread more international news before their readers and thus educate them to the higher reality. If they are reckless enough to try it, a readership survey quickly reaffirms the antique chestnut about leading a horse to water and making him drink. Even so, journalistic pride and a sense of duty may conspire to keep a news organization in the game of overseas news.

When I worked at *Newsweek*, world news was built into the franchise. We all knew the readership surveys didn't tell the whole story. Readers don't count on studying every word in the magazine. For some, it's important simply to have a serious magazine on the coffee table, helping to show their interest in the world. And it was important to *Newsweek's* image among the world's movers and shakers that we covered truly vital world issues. It was important to us, too: It made us serious journalists.

So, every week, the basic space allotted to International was the same as the hole for National Affairs: 21 columns. The editors of each section then fought for more. Sometimes they got it; sometimes they lost. But increasingly, over the years, National won space and International lost it. It wasn't that the top editors were philistines, or shallow, or obsessed with the bottom line. The present editor and editor-in-chief have both been foreign correspondents. Their editors' stomachs simply tell them, more often than not, that the week's foreign news isn't as interesting as the stuff from Washington, Chicago, and California.

It's also a factor that foreign news is expensive. In 1984, when I was editor of *Newsweek International*, we had 29 full-time correspondents stationed abroad, maybe 30 active stringers feeding the network, and assorted secretaries, drivers, clippers, gofers, and part-time help. On top of the salaries, office rent, payroll taxes, and the like, we had to cover stories. The rule of thumb was that it cost \$200 a day to keep a correspondent

Associated Press is still a major international news-gathering agency, but UPI barely keeps its head above water. And while Cable News Network and such specialty agencies as Bloomberg Radio are adding staff, that doesn't offset shrinkage in the other networks.

In the business, we all deplore this. But the evidence is that hardly anybody else cares; the audience wants what it gets. As James Fallows recently wrote in *The National Interest*, "Apparently no one has figured out how to interest the American public in international trends without exaggerating, oversimplifying, or warping the reality of events to fit domestic U.S. preoccupations of the moment."

**W**hat does interest Americans? Just take a look at the table to the right. When *World Press Review* magazine asked five overseas editors, mostly in the Third World, to list the year's top stories from their points of view, they agreed that Rwanda, the Israeli peace process, and Haiti were important. But they also focused on South Africa, Bosnia, global trade, Algeria's civil strife, Russia's attack on Chechnya, moves toward peace in Northern Ireland, and Kim Il Sung's death and North Korea's nuclear blackmail of the U.S. The Republican sweep of the U.S. elections was the only domestic American story widely mentioned. O.J. Simpson and Susan Smith were curiously missing.

American parochialism is nothing new. Ever since de Tocqueville, visitors have noted it with varying de-

grees of politesse. But it is remarkably persistent, as any editor who has seriously addressed international news can testify. Every few years, some major event—usually a war—focuses attention on something outside. The cataclysm of World War II even gave birth to the U.N. and a small but enduring community of global thinkers across the country. But when the bang-bang fades, America turns back inward. In this 50th anniversary

**HOW U.S. EDITORS RANKED THE BIG NEWS STORIES OF 1994**  
*Associated Press's annual top 10 survey*

1. O.J. Simpson
2. The off-year congressional elections
3. Labor troubles in baseball and hockey
4. Susan Smith, charged with drowning her sons and claiming they were kidnapped
5. The Tonya Harding/Nancy Kerrigan imbroglio
6. The U.S.-led mission to Haiti
7. President Bill Clinton's failed health-care reform
8. The earthquake in Southern California
9. Genocide in Rwanda
10. Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho



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**TOUR OF DUTY:  
ONCE TROOPS LAND,  
THEY'RE THE FOCUS**

news is hardly the same as the 30-minute documentary that doesn't get aired these days. And while there are honorable exceptions, the correspondents who parachute in from the regional hub tend to be called back home when the story gets a little old.

In the end, our coverage gets shallower, not deeper. In Gresham's law of journalism, bang-bang drives out thought. Our remaining correspondents fly from earthquake to famine, from insurrection to massacre. They land running, as we were all taught to do, and they

on the road. Nobody wanted to calculate the exact cost of overseas operations, since the very existence of a figure on paper would be dangerous. But if you measured cost per column inch, the international coverage was far and away the most expensive in the magazine.

**F**or a while, the cost could be justified as part of another profit center. The three overseas editions of *Newsweek International*—Europe, Asia, and Latin America—used a lot of reporting that never made the domestic issue. And *Newsweek International* tended to make money in years that were bad for the domestic book: U.S. recessions often coincided with good times abroad, and vice-versa, which tended to even out the bottom line and made the business side happy.

But inflation kept happening, and world recession and the lingering demise of the dollar made overseas profits an academic issue. Downsizing and cost-cutting became inexorable. And in deciding priorities, the editor has to balance that astronomic cost per column inch with the uncomfortable fact that the readers don't really demand this stuff. At last count, *Newsweek's* roster of foreign correspondents had shrunk to 17, a decline of more than 40% in a decade. There is still solid international reporting, with thoughtful take-

outs on issues ranging from the world environment to the population conference in Cairo, but there's not as much of it. The magazine is still serious about international coverage—it just has to be done differently these days.

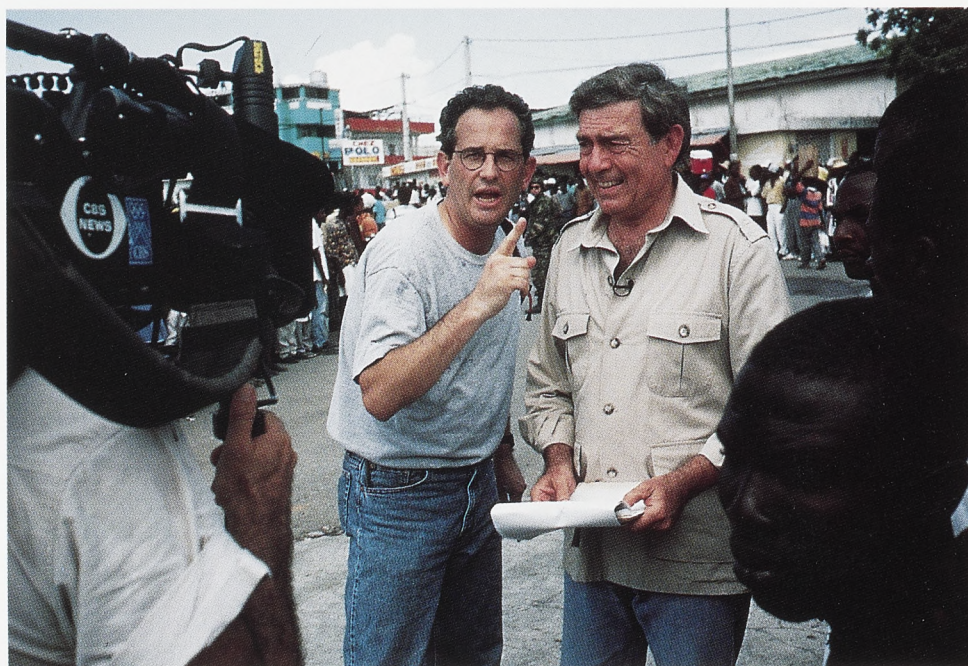
But doing it differently may not mean doing it as well. When the networks fly in a Bigfoot anchorperson to cover a war or catastrophe, local people have to be found to provide logistics and expertise—and even if the junior correspondent on the ground is able and knowledgeable, Bigfoot may not grasp all the nuances. In any case, a minute on the evening

provide surprisingly good coverage of whatever is immediately going on. What we miss is the old-time situationer, the access and nuance that come with living in a country, the explanation that rings true when some unimaginable horror erupts. We miss anticipation, thought, and meaning. Our global coverage has become a comic book: ZAP! POW! BANG-BANG!

And nobody is better off for that.

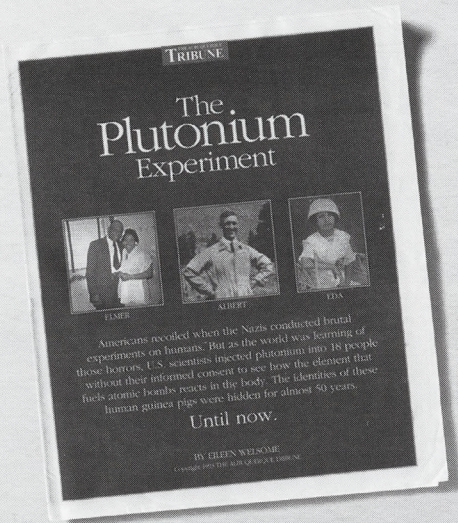
*Martz, now editor of World Press Review, worked at Newsweek for three decades and is a member of the OPC's Board of Governors*

**RATHER IN  
HAITI: THE BIG  
STORIES GET  
THE TOP NAMES**





# Two ways to win a Pulitzer



## Exposing controversy

Making people think about their government—that was Eileen



Welsome's goal.

It won her a 1994  
Pulitzer for National  
Reporting.

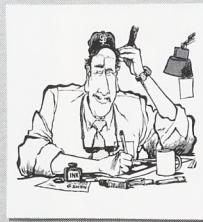
Her series for the Albuquerque Tribune, "The Plutonium Experiments," revealed the names of victims of secret radioactive testing in the 1940s.

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## Creating controversy

Making people think about their government—that was Michael



Ramirez's goal.

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# Turning Gatekeepers into Guides

By William J. Holstein

**I**t was a revelatory moment—of the disturbing variety. At a dinner party, teachers, social workers, and professionals of assorted flavors were having a spirited discussion about the oppressive complexity of modern life.

"I used to watch CNN, but then I found I was happier if I didn't," one woman said.

A fiftysomething man replied: "I used to listen to those 'all news' stations during the day, but now I only listen once a day. There's nothing I really want to hear."

Then a young woman blurted out: "I only look at the front page of *The New York Times*, and that's all I need."

In short, I was witnessing the backlash against Big Media, ultimate bearer of bad news. It's not a rejection of information, per se. After all, new specialty magazines covering everything from computers to lifestyles and personal finance are thriving. There are all-music, all sit-com, all-sports, and all-anything-else television stations, not to mention all-talk radio. Now come the online information services that challenge every traditional form of media. People can now just check their electronic bulletin boards, literally defining their own parameters, their own universes.

What our readers, viewers, and listeners do seem to be rejecting is the defining vision that has led mainstream gatekeepers for decades. That vision hasn't been purely liberal or conservative, but rather a mix: It was liberal in advocating help for troubled peoples in the world but clearly conservative in opposing communism and in pushing free trade.

Today, with the superpower struggle now largely over, we're still trying to use that outdated prism to keep the attention of our customers focused on faraway events, but we're failing to explain why these events are important. We're asking people to read, watch, and listen to painful things—simply because we, the gatekeepers, say they're important. "Here,

watch this massacre—it's good for you."

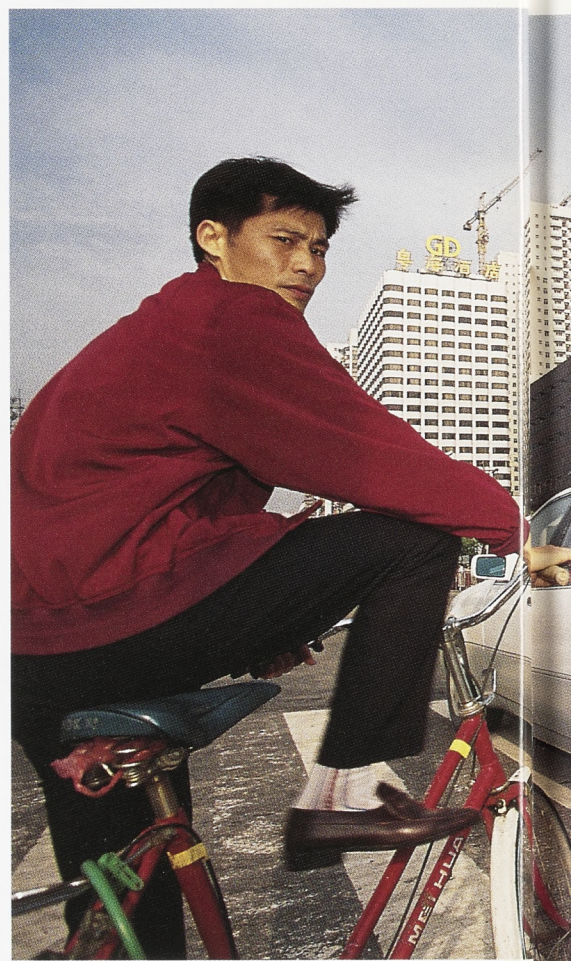
I think this basic disconnect between what international gatekeepers are offering and what the marketplace needs helps explain why so many major media organizations are suffering slow economic decline. It's also part of the explanation for why there are so few general news jobs, so few international transfers, and so few mid- and late-career opportunities.

To survive, I would suggest that part of the answer involves shifting the very notion of a supposedly objective, passive gatekeeper into that of "guide" or "agent." The \$500-an-hour Gucci-clad consultants would call such a change a paradigm shift.

Anyone who has tried to navigate the Internet realizes how valuable it is to have someone to guide you. Not to make decisions for you, but at least to point out the different paths, the different communities. If the New World Disorder is, like the Internet, overwhelming in its complexity, those of us who would be gatekeepers have to do our jobs differently. We have to provide more of the "connective tissue" between what's happening in the world and how it affects the lives and jobs of average Americans. The test of the Kansas City milkman, which we learned about at UPI, is still correct. He has to understand.

Let me explore how this shift in the gatekeeper role might play out in covering two worlds, one deeply troubled and one that is incredibly successful.

**THE TROUBLED WORLD:** Thanks to satellites and high-tech telecommunications, we've been able to bring the world's killing zones into living rooms on a real-time basis. But where's the connective tissue? We haven't done a good job in explaining how suffering far away affects the quality of all our lives here at home. Immigration is one result of these conflicts that has clearly mixed blessings for



*To help Americans make sense of the New World Disorder, journalists should provide the "connective tissue" between world events and people's lives*

U.S. communities. Less equivocally, drugs and terrorism threaten the underpinnings of Western civilization.

Far from delivering a pious homily, I have been part of the failure myself. When I covered the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, it was the bad guys against the good. I wrote my first story before even landing in Kabul. It was already clear—the bad guys were making a power grab. But when the Soviets retreated in defeat, I and other journalists switched off. Why should the West care about barefoot mujahideen?

Yet today, we wake up and realize that the armaments and the training and the overall destruction of that society is tear-





**THE OPENING OF CHINA IS ONE OF THE MEGATRENDS OF OUR TIME**

can Californians or Floridians learn from how the French or Germans are coping?

The argument that Michael Ignatieff makes is correct: The "ethnic nationalism" that lurks at the heart of many of these conflicts threatens America and the West in a way that we are only beginning to understand. If Sarajevo and Karachi, why not Los Angeles or Miami? The lesson to Americans is that we have a multi-ethnic society with huge numbers of immigrants. We have to understand who they are and how to assimilate them into The American Dream. How the Germans treat Kurdish schoolchildren has relevance to how Americans treat the Hmong in our schools.

**O**r take Bosnia. We've conveyed the horror. But we've failed to explain fully that it may be the beginning of a cycle in which Europe allows a people to be wiped out on the basis of their ethnicity. It is like a cancer, a worm at the heart of Europe, as Roger Cohen puts it. It also spills into America: Serbian and Croatian children in Milwaukee are at war with each other in their schools.

Aside from any moral considerations, Bosnia affects U.S. interests in Europe. Twice before in this century, we've been obliged to commit armed forces to solving European disputes. Now once again, our French, German, and British allies are divided. Among themselves and from us. Bosnia was the first crack. To prevent this from becoming a real breach, it is crucial to devise a forceful, long-term strategy, rather than speaking with multiple voices.



ing at the fabric of neighboring Pakistan—and providing a breeding ground for the terrorism that almost knocked out the World Trade Towers in New York City. In a world linked by intercontinental airline flights, one cannot quarantine such a problem. It travels. It has legs.

So there are reasons why terrorism and the drug trade flourish. And because

so many places are convulsed in trauma, their people are on the move in ways that sometimes jeopardize Western stability. The Algerian conflict threatens to spill into France, and the bloodshed between Turks and Kurds is a threat to Germany, as one can quickly grasp by walking through the immigrant-populated Kreuzberg section of Berlin. So what

**THE SUCCESSFUL WORLD:** The U.S. media's coverage is even less laudable when it comes to those nations enjoying unprecedented success. Asia accounts for more than half the world's population, and it's enjoying explosive growth. China's emergence alone is one of the megatrends of our era. Yet Western gatekeepers still have a largely Atlantic-oriented, noneconomic prism, which means they aren't equipped to make sense of what's happening in Beijing or Bangkok.

So they lurch from one spectacular event to the other. One day, a trade war against China is proclaimed. By week's end, that's over, as we realize how complex and important the relationship really is. Then we have earthquakes and terror attacks in Japan, implying a nation on its knees. Our coverage of the Super Yen suggests that it will crack Japan like an



## *The war in Afghanistan helped breed the terrorism that struck the World Trade Towers*

egg, without explaining the strength it creates for Japanese multinationals. The broader underlying trends of Japan's growing economic clout and increasing sense of geopolitical independence are largely missed.

In short, the effort to interpret Asia through an old prism no longer works. With surging confidence, the Asians are rejecting Western views on human rights, labor unions, and freedom of the press. Rather than taking the time to explain that the U.S. has a mix of moral, economic, and security interests in the region that make delicate balancing essential, all too often our knee-jerk response is to "go moral"—to condemn Asians because they don't accept Western media's wisdom.



The point that bears stressing is that this part of the world has found a way to submerge linguistic, religious, and ethnic conflicts to stage a spectacular economic march. It creates opportunities for the West at the same time that it poses fundamental challenges. If we want to en-

gage this part of the world successfully, it must be on the basis of a more sophisticated understanding. It must be better than veering from the BANG! to the GEE WHIZ! to the OUTRAGE!

I argue that part of the answer is providing more of the connective tissue,

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combining reporting and thinking from international and domestic bureaus, and breaking down rigid beat structures that prevent us from combining business, social, educational, and international reporting. How is a small company in the U.S. heartland cracking the Japanese market, and what kind of jobs is that creating? What is the impact of China's "Open Door" on U.S. farmers and workers? Why are so many of our clothes and shoes made in Indonesia, and what are the conditions in those factories? So far, we're not answering those sorts of questions in the depth they deserve.

Reasonable people may disagree with some or all of what I've said. But isn't it time for a debate of higher caliber? As Doyle McManus writes, America faces an intellectual challenge in defining its role in this New World Disorder. If we the gatekeepers choose to hide in our high towers, clinging to old orthodoxies, what good are we? It certainly seems that the nation's political process has been cheapened to the point that Washington is not going to provide many answers. I am not arguing that journalists

are somehow superior—only that there is a professional opportunity in filling the vacuum. It's not a contest to come up with a Grand Unified Theory. There isn't one. It's a question of how Americans can balance their values against their interests.

**D**oes thoughtful analysis sell? Of course, it has to be put in a pretty package with features and personalities and colorful pictures and all the trimmings. But our products still need to have a solid intellectual core. The newspapers and magazines that have gone completely soft will one day wake up to find their readers don't need them anymore. The *Hard Copy* style of television will ultimately run out of sexual curiosities to examine.

Who cares if the gatekeepers, and by extension the Big Media, survive? One can almost hear the skeptics saying: "We don't need those people anymore. The very concept of a 'gatekeeper' is elitist and arrogant. Besides, with the World Wide Web, we can download all the data we need."

That sentiment poses dangers not only to the profession but also to our society as a whole. If America continues its information balkanization and every sub-segment and sub-subsegment defines its own limited flow of knowledge, where is the common ground? There is nothing to challenge narrow extremism. We lose a collective vision of what our society should be and how it should engage with the world.

If gatekeepers and their organizations can emerge as guides to help our customers navigate through—and help give meaning to—this cluttered landscape, we will find renewal. That will require more engagement and interactivity on our part. It will mean having dialogues with multiple communities, rather than simply issuing pronouncements. Despite the explosion of the Internet, I don't believe that Americans want a raw and undigested flood of images and data. Therefore, the journalists who can point the way toward answers will have a continued role. Call it a paradigm shift—or call it just plain saving the profession of covering the world.

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